

# Maclean's

OTTAWA'S  
DRAMATIC PLAN  
FOR NATIONAL CHANGE

BRITISH COLUMBIA

## STRANGER THAN FANTASY

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In A Bizarre  
Ending, Premier  
William Vander Zalm  
Resigns And A  
New Wave Emerges





## Your second wagon should be just as much fun as your first.

Oh the wonder of that little red wagon of childhood.

It was race car, fire engine and 6-ton truck. It could negotiate tricky driveways, cart pop bottles or haul your best friend.

The possibilities were as endless as your imagination.

It is by no coincidence that Volkswagen's elegant new Passat Wagon was created in this very spirit.

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Passat Wagon is a fitting addition to a car family known for

being fun to drive. And if you want to pretend it's a fire engine from time to time, we won't tell.



**Passat**

**SAVE \$25**  
3/8" CORDLESS  
DRILL KIT  
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- 2 variable speeds 0-400 and 0-1100 RPM with reversing.
- 10 torque settings for driving, 2 for drilling. Electric brake.
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# POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Buy either or both of these quality Makita power tools and receive the full manufacturer's rebate.  
Details at participating Makita dealers. Offer valid through June 30th, 1993. Hurry!

**SAVE \$35**  
12" CUT-OFF SAW  
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- Easily chops through pipe, tubing, conduit, angle iron and channels
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- Powerful vise swivels to 45°

# Maclean's

CANADIAN JOURNAL OF NEUROSCIENCE, APRIL 8, 1991, VOL. 14, NO. 4

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## COVER

## BEYOND FANTASY

Theme-park owner William Vander Zalm breezed into the British Columbia premier's office in 1986 as a blunt-speaking, free-wheeling maverick. Five years, 21 cabinet desertions and three official investigations into his conduct in office later, Vander Zalm bowed to increasing pressure last week and announced his intention to resign. Now, the succession campaign is on. — J

## CANADA/SPECIAL REPORT

## LOOSENING THE GRIP

Canadians across the country are rushing to tell the Glusman Forum on Canada's Future what the country's new constitution should say. Quebec's Bélanger-Campagna commission is threatening separation. But Ottawa has already set in motion a plan that could radically transform the country. — M



## JUSTICE

## FATAL ATTRACTION

In a sensational trial, a Westchester County, N.Y., schoolteacher is accused of killing her lover's wife by shooting her nine times. Prosecutors say that after the killing, Carolyn Warmus, daughter of a multimillionaire, met the woman's widower for drinks, hamburgers and sex.

— 44



THE POLYMER LETTERS



# LETTERS

## CANADA OR DUST

Your March 18 cover story on Canadian firms moving to the United States and Mexico was alarming ("Giving up, moving out"). While Canadians are said to risk too many governmental setbacks and unpredictable wages, we must realize that Canadians have nationalized manufacturers for the past 30 years with low corporate taxes, tax exemptions and business grants. As well, industries implemented all the government policies that businesses have asked for: government subsidies, lower trade and the Goods and Services Tax. We've lowered our wages, been hit off, pursued national industries and lowered alcohol sales. Can we ever have conditions perfect enough for corporate Canada? It makes me wonder if the days of tariffs, protectionism and lost taxes were not as bad after all.

John Gehlen  
Saskatoon

In "Giving up, moving out," you say that some United States have already seen the Free Trade Agreement for job losses and plant moves to the United States and Mexico. Other segments of our country have also voiced the same sentiment, including parliamentarians, entrepreneurs, writers and, yes, even some Canadian corporate leaders. One must keep in mind that the current economic malaise is but the aftermath of plant closings and moves to the south that began within months of signing the FTA.

Bert Stephens,  
Norris, Ont.

I laughed at the "insouciant bourgeoisie" who sat, after attending a seminar on Chile coffee, Ohio, that he could buy second hand there for \$7,500 to \$12,500 an acre compared with half a million dollars in "Tampa, Rand Ohio and Toronto are hardly comparable. There are plenty of places in Ontario where lower-cost land is available, with far superior infrastructure leading them to major markets than rural Ohio ever dreamed of.

Raymond E. Hanson  
Vice-president, Shreef Systems Inc.,  
Windsor, Ont.

Staying in Canada has proven to be very costly to the manufacturing sector in operating costs, high and obstructive taxes. The challenge to stay is tremendous. Though we see a privately owned, small Canadian manufacturer, we have chosen to stay because we believe that Canada is one of the world's best countries in which to live. The risk at hand, then, is to convince the manufacturing manufacturers that staying in Canada makes not someone.

Jennifer Rickard,  
Vice-president, General Computer Co. Ltd.,  
Toronto, Ont.



Chihuahua, Mexico: an 'alarming' crowd

## SAFETY FIRST

Your article "Rules made to be broken" (Opening Notes, March 18), about the school attended by Prince Maurice from Malawi's poor children, in misreading and demonstrates poor journalistic judgment. You implied to misstate that the mother who fears

that her child might be in an accident is free to see two other drivers at the Lyric Chord where children can be conveniently and safely dropped off or collected. By saying that parents "are required to pass a security check," an airport situation is implied, whereas all schools in the Ottawa area require anyone entering to identify themselves. There is nothing reprehensible in measures taken to protect the Malawian children, particularly in terms of war. Just imagine the public outcry if some similar laws held them and nothing had been done to prevent it.

Julie Sullivan,  
Ottawa

## APOLOGY

In the April 4, 1988, issue of *Maclean's*, our columnist, Allan Fotheringham, wrote that we no longer demonstrated that the activities of Sir Donald Pearson had any scientific or historical benefit. That was incorrect. We were appropriate that Sir Donald and his expedition team have made a significant contribution to scientific study of the Arctic. *Maclean's* and Allan Fotheringham apologize.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should submit letters, address and telephone number. *Maclean's* is not responsible for return of unsolicited material. Please send letters to: Letters to the Editor, *Maclean's*, 1000 Avenue Road, 177 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5G 1S7.

## PASSAGES

**QED:** Leo Atwater, 40, the architect of George Bush's controversial, but successful, 1988 presidential election campaign and general chairman of the Republican party, of a brain tumor, is a Washington hospital. Self-leader of his political support, who was also an accomplished basketball player, "Bushmen and I had a great friend. The Republican party will raise his energy, vision and leadership." Many Democrats despised Atwater's tactics, which included both TV commercials denigrating that Democratic candidate Michael Dukakis was a quisling and say, as Atwater is, in January, Atwater apologized to Dukakis for "the called cruelty" of some of his tactics.



**QED:** R.C. Energy Minister Jack Davis, 74, of cancer, in his West Vancouver home. A former Liberal, Davis served in the cabinet of Lester Pearson and Pierre Trudeau from 1966 to 1974. In 1971, he became Canada's first environment minister.

**QED:** Roman Catholic Archbishop Marcel LeFevre, 86, of cancer, is hospitalized in Marburg, Switzerland. In 1968, LeFevre established a movement in the Swiss city of Bolle against reforms that the church made to modernize rules. In 1968, Pope John Paul I excommunicated LeFevre.

**QED:** U.S. active rights activist Robert Sattelmire, 62, of a heart attack, while in police custody in Vancouver. In 1969, Can-

ada arrested Sattelmire deported. "The making his political refugee status, granted after he fled the United States in 1962. A Washington state court had convicted him of 46 charges, including attempted murder.

**QED:** Cocaine use by world soccer star Diego Maradona, 34, after laboratory analysis, according to the Italian Soccer Federation. Maradona, an Argentine who earns an estimated \$14 million annually playing for Naples, loves satanic superstitions far up to two years.

**QED:** Singer Marc Coppe, 43, of the world-famous Canadian a cappella group The Nykops, of vocal pneumonia, is hospitalized in Toronto. The quartet, which was established in 1979, will continue with a Canadian tour on April 25.

Our vacations play very well for those looking for a serene getaway. But this year you'll find musical events, performances and concerts, part of our MUSIC '90 celebration. Or take in the usual sounds. The ripple of a paddle on a lake, a parade of mountain wildflowers and the throaty gurgle of a cappuccino machine. The countryside is within whisking distance of the city. For the whole score, call 1-800-663-6000 or write Tourism B.C., Parliament Bldg., Victoria, B.C., V8V 1X6. Now back to our regular show.

Super, Natural British Columbia



We interrupt our normal tourism advertising to bring you a musical interlude.



# OPENING NOTES

George Bush goes to the rescue, Arthur Erickson builds a new forum, and *Debrett's* cleans house

## DRESSED TO THRILL

The nattily dressed Benk of Canada goesmen, John Crow, presents an elegant public image. And apparently, Crow intends to keep it that way. At a recent news conference, Toronto Globe and Mail reporter Alan Freeman asked Crow why some injury hits at the book exceeded the federal government's own three-per-cent ceiling. Crow defended the practice as necessary to note in staff. But a week later, when the two men ran into each other while they were walking on Parliament Hill, Crow gave Freeman a far different response. According to Freeman, Crow himself recalled the question and his then somewhat "O'Brienish" we'd all better be dressed like him." Observed Freeman, who was wearing a charcoal-colored wool suit at the time: "He said it in fact, but I was quite taken aback." Added Canadian Press reporter Larry Wade, who was with the two men: "It was a bizarre thing for Crow to say. Also, Alan is one of the better-dressed reporters around here." All dressed up for a dressing-down.

Freeman "quite taken aback" by Crow's remark



## Out of the maddened crowd

Hundreds of British academics have chosen not to go. *Debrett's People of Today*, a survey volume to *Debrett's Peerage* and *Baronage*, has dumped their names from its latest edition, a \$180 annual tome. The 1991 list, which has more than 45,000 names, has dropped what editor Percy Ellis calls "superfluous poetry," although their names will be included in *Debrett's People*. Explains Ellis: "Most of the remaining entries are people who have made a difference in Britain." Although Canadian Governor General Bush mentions a mission, among those excluded is Wendy Baden-Powell, whose British grandfather, Lord Robert Baden-Powell, founded the Boy Scouts worldwide. Said an unhappy Baden-Powell: "My

name is known throughout the world." A counterclaim that failed to impress the gatekeepers of tradition.



Count Bush made *Debrett's* latest list

## CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

Canada's constitutional crisis in creating new letters for the federal bureaucracy. Last year, Arthur Kroeper, deputy minister of employment and immigration, provided that more than half of its 218,000 civil servant jobs will be lost early in the next century. And now that Ottawa is considering sharing more power with the provinces, the decentralization prospect is creating just as many—some current jobs and the Parliament Buildings are the world's largest bed-and-breakfast on the list of activities breaks up a ritual with a ruminated sheep being.

## Living in glass houses

Globe and Mail columnist John Crankshaw acknowledges that he feels better about a letter that appeared in the paper on March 27. Crankshaw's article entitled "World women ready to end war" by Denise LeFevre. Unfortunately, the article never ran in the Globe. In fact, in comparison, The Toronto Star, published the piece. Said Crankshaw: "He got hundreds of letters every week. It's one of the joys of success." The columnist at the Star, Harvey Karpman, said that he will not cast the first stone. Said Karpman: "These things happen." Besides, unacknowledged praise is a nice gift for any editor.

## A PRESIDENT'S DISPATCH

It took George Bush's presidential chief of staff, New Brunswicker Gregory Thompson, to make contact with his son, a member of the U.S. Army VII Corps, which fought in the Gulf War. Thompson had not heard from his 21-year-old son, Gregory Jr., who holds a dual Canadian-U.S. citizenship, since early last December. But when Prime Minister Brian Mulroney introduced the Ties MP to Bush during the President's visit to Ottawa on March 13, Thompson replied: "Mulroney said that I was not in a major position in the Gulf war as the Gulf war was over."

Thompson's call



Bush, Mulroney presence kept

Thompson said that I had not heard from him in a while." Bush promised that he would help, and then he contacted Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, who in turn personally ordered Gregory Jr. to call his family. He did. 36 years later, safe and sound, from Kuwait City where he was part of the communications branch of the 3d Signal Brigade. Said Thompson: "And as if that wasn't enough, the President himself also called Greg." Then, Bush followed up the phone call with a note to the son and his wife, Linda. Bush wrote: "You must be very proud of this guy. We sure are." Clearly, one good turn deserves another.

## PAYING FOR HOME PORNOGRAPHY

Former prime minister Pierre Trudeau once said that the state has no place in the bedrooms of the nation, but the dilemma of La Piche, a sprawling Quebec municipality of 5,500, 32 km north of Ottawa, feel that the bedroom has no place in the state, either. In January, their mayor, Jean-Pierre Brunette, put up signs in his four video outlets, which specialize in adult sex films, offering to pay \$5 for every minute of home video. After a public outcry, Brunette, who did not return several telephone calls from Maclean's, dropped the idea. But the issue is still drawing media attention. Municipal Councillor Winifred Johnston declared that Brunette was elected in 1985 as a result of a low voter turnout. Added a local resident, who asked for anonymity: "We elected him—and now we're stuck with him."

## Golf therapy

In its quest for a cure for an ailing nation, *Robert Simpson's Citizens' Forum* has enlisted architect Arthur Erickson.



Erickson quest for a cure

who will meet soon at his Vancouver home with an eclectic group, including former governor general Edward Schreyer, wheelchair athlete Rick Hansen, Marlene's Senior Contributing Editor Peter Newman and critic Mavis Moon, to record their views. Said Newman: "The nation is in a desperate situation, and everything helps." A meeting of true needs.

## A brave new order

Vancouver Islander Frank Grice predicts that exotic meats, including mettwurst, will become popular during the next century. Says Grice: "Being exotic helps you stand out from the crowd." In fact, exotic meat, which is common in the diet of many Southeast Asian and Pacific Islander peoples, is already the rage at Vancouver's most exclusive. At the upscale Bayside, it is a charmed delicacy that is served, usually with vegetables or in soup. And at the Rattlebush Grill, on the city's trendy West 4th Avenue, demand is high for grilled rattlebush that is marinated in soy sauce, black pepper and lemon. Says Edward Dillen, owner of the Rattlebush Grill: "It's as popular that we sell as much as we get from Arizona." He adds: "The customers almost dare each other to try it. It's a test of their sense of adventure." A good disher for casual.



Dillen: A daring mouthful of rattlebush

# The President of Chrysler Canada would like to have a couple of words with you.

"Thank you."

In 1990, for the fourth year running, Chrysler was ranked Highest for Customer Satisfaction among North American Car Companies as reported in the prestigious J.D. Power Associates survey. Recently, we added the 25000th Chrysler Mopar/Wagon in Canada, making this revolutionary vehicle the most popular model van in the country outstripping all other makes combined. This is a made-in-Canada success story, we can all take great pride in.

At Chrysler, we're providing you with every incentive to buy a North American made car or truck. We're building them right and we're proving them right with attractive financing options that are helping to keep our sales strong. Now, more than ever, there really is no reason to look abroad. We make many of the finest cars and trucks in the world right here at home.

On behalf of all of us across Canada who engineer, build and sell Chrysler vehicles, thank you for inspiring us to be our best.



Yves Landry  
President and CEO

**CHRYSLER** ★  
All you have to do is drive one.

## COLUMN



## A modern hero for a developing nation

BY JANE FRANCES

Many people think of Mexico as a right-wing Latin American dictatorship. But it actually is a burgeoning democracy, bolstered with so much that didn't work, more similar to Poland than to Paraguay. Despite huge oil wealth, Mexico has been unable to provide a decent standard of living for most of its citizens. This is largely due to its enormous population growth and also because of a history of government nepotism, economic intervention, corruption, bans on foreign investment and a poor work ethic fostered by excessive state intervention. Unions are mandatory in workplaces with five employees or more, and many unions exercise the right to hire and fire workers.

On the plus side, however, Mexico has one of Latin America's highest literacy rates, 90.3 per cent, and provides many benefits, including free universal medical care to all its citizens—something the Americans do not even have. Despite these goodies, Mexico, like Estonia, Europe, found that one of its biggest exports was people. An estimated 1.5 million Mexicans have sailed to other countries the U.S. border every year, for the chance to work there legally. Stopping this flow of intensity is the biggest force driving Mexico and the United States to a free trade deal.

The growing opportunity to free trade in the United States and Canada, has prompted Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari to visit both countries this month. Salinas is worried that the accumulation of Congress may take a protectionist stance and stop the Bush administration's requested fast-track resolution to negotiate a deal with Mexico. Both countries consider their fast-track agreement, which means Congress would vote on the entire proposed agreement, rather than subject the deal to a slower-by-committee vote, is essential to obtaining a free trade treaty. To counter the U.S. opposition, Mexico has not made a \$14-million war chest for lobbying efforts. Its team are well funded. After all, Canada barely slowed fast-track approval in 1987 from an equally protec-

*North American free trade will especially benefit Mexico, which has suffered from a history of revolution and repression*

tioned Congress at a time when both economies were booming and the wage gap between Canada and the United States was slight.

Inflation, California, for one, worry that cheap goods will flow into their state if tariff fall or if taxes on Mexican agricultural products are lifted. Canada, by contrast, has little reason to worry. Our direct two-way trade with Mexico is only about \$1.7 billion annually, and is mostly in food and automotive parts. Even when Canada and Mexican compete for U.S. market share, it is mostly in commodities such as oil, natural gas or forestry products, which already flow tariff-free.

Consumers who need not fear that cheap Mexican labor will result in a flood of cheap products here. If that is going to happen, it would have happened already, due to our relatively low tariff-free Mexican imports, recently averaging 14-6 per cent. Indeed, low wage rates there do not translate into trade success, as do high wages always cause catastrophe. Both Canada and the United States enjoy high wage rates, but still compete handily against the world's low-wage countries. North America's success usually relies on productivity, education, innovation, a modern economic infrastructure, proximity to markets, relatively low

interest rates, access to foreign capital, resources and political stability, and talented entrepreneurs.

Salinas, a Harvard-trained PhD in economics who advised his predecessor before becoming president in 1988, has been well received in trying to drag Mexico's economy into the 20th century. Mexican debts were renegotiated, wage and price controls imposed and the economy opened to foreign investment and trade. Tariffs slipped drastically after 1988, when Mexico signed the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Even after such sweeping changes, Mexico remained an opaque, outside trading bloc, as Salinas sought, and found, support from Bush (who has a Mexican daughter-in-law). They initiated trade talks and have made Congress's blessing. Given has already given its nod weekly in a move that, as Salinas told me in an interview in Mexico City last month, will mean Canadian (or American) workers will benefit from "a stronger Mexican market, with 62 million people."

As for Mexico's low wages, he added, "We do not want low wages to be permanent. On the contrary, we are looking for economic recovery to improve and increase real wages in relation to productivity. Our perspective is that with such a trade agreement, real wages in Mexico will increase. But, for now, if you do not cope with competition, you will be lost against to other countries."

Those who remain concerned should look at the European Community experiment, where cheap-labor countries such as Spain, Portugal and Greece joined forces with high-cost-labor countries such as Germany and other community members. Not only are all of these countries prospering, but also the richer members lead the poorer members millions of dollars to build railways and other infrastructure to facilitate trade. This is what Canada and the United States should do for Mexico. Those still skeptical should look at the benefits derived from the Canada-U.S. 1985 Auto Pact. Between 1975 and 1984, sales of U.S. autos doubled, largely driven by auto industry wages went to \$15 an hour from \$7.50 an hour. In 1984, they averaged \$15.18 from \$7.50. Meanwhile, the U.S. and the multinational car giants have resulted in Japanese wage rates rising to \$15.50 hourly from \$13.75. Japan's is \$19 from \$5, and South Korea's is \$23 from \$6 cents an hour.

Such figures underscore that free trade, whether multinational, bilateral or bilateral, is not a zero-sum game. Every country wins, and hopefully President Salinas will convince Congress of that. Not only will a North American free trade area grab economic benefits for all three countries but it will particularly give a hand to the Mexican people, who have struggled and suffered through a severe history of revolutions and repression. Salinas initiates electoral reforms, cracks down on corruption and human rights abuses and continues to develop the environment. He is to Mexico what Linx Salinas was to Czech economic reform, as to Poland and the world, a patient recovery which should be encouraged, not opposed, as he tries to let his people out of their malaise and mediocrity.



# LOOSENING THE GRIP

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS QUIETLY HANDING MAJOR POWERS TO THE PROVINCES



They saw themselves as patriotic but not soldiers in the battle to preserve their native land. For weeks, the three employees of Memorial University in St. John's, Nfld., eagerly participated in a two-hour television debate for the *Grainier Forum on Canada's Future*. Jane MacDonald, a university training coordinator, described her constitution as "God's work to help save a country." But in mid-March, as MacDonald sat with other employees shuffling envelopes in the federal office building, a university administrator informed her that she, along with 32 others, would be laid off. The administration said that cuts in provincial grants forced the layoffs, but it placed the ultimate blame on the federal government, which has become increasingly unwilling to continue transferring money to the provinces for programs like higher education. Said MacDonald: "What a terrible irony. We were preparing a film about how the country and we were wiped out of existence." Her comment captured a paradox: Amid the drafting and debating of constitutional proposals to revitalize national unity, Canada's fundamental structure is quietly undergoing a radical transformation.

Over the past six years, driven by escalating independence and conservative issues—

economic, the government of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney has set provisions in motion that are drastically reducing the federal government's role in the nation's affairs. That trend will likely gather speed after last week's report from Quebec's *Milange-Campes* commission, calling for a dramatically revised federalism—or independence. Now, Ottawa is planning further major shifts of financial power to the provinces. Finance Minister Michael Wilson is expected to disclose detailed proposals on managing federal-provincial finances this month. By the year's end, he is also likely to unveil a plan to loosen federal control over provincial revenue tax systems. Regardless of the outcome of constitutional negotiations with Quebec, those steps will greatly expand the powers and responsibilities of the provinces—and reduce those of the national government.

Timely: The changes are driven by both ideology and economics. The Conservative campaign for deregulation has led to a steady withdrawal of federal agencies and institutions from directing the national economy. As well, Wilson has sought to contain the deficit by restricting the growth in the amount of money that Ottawa sends to the provinces to help pay for such services as health, welfare and higher education. In return, Ottawa will give the provinces the responsibility—and the authority—to structure and increase their own income taxes if they want to maintain or improve *age-adjusted* levels of service. The result is an increasingly pronounced fragmentation of the entire of political priority away

from Ottawa towards the 10 provincial capitals.

The development is timely for the Tories, who are under growing pressure to respond to Quebec's demands for additional powers after the release last week of the *Milange-Campes* commission report. That widely representative group called on the Quebec government to hold a referendum to declare the province "a state independent of the Canadian state" by October, 1992—unless the rest of the country consents (well before then) to a satisfactory new constitutional order. The commission did not define that new order, but Liberal Premier Robert Bourassa has already indicated his own party's demand that the province should take over all that a handful of federal powers.

Anger: Quebec's deadline has angered some other provinces. Declared Newfoundland's Clyde Wells: "The Mulroney-Campes commission has no right to establish a deadline for the other nine provinces." And although Mulroney refused to respond directly to the commission's report, he told the *Commons*: "This Parliament shall establish the time frames, and not the legislature in any particular province."

In fact, Mulroney's own timetable, leading to a new constitutional initiative that he is expected to unveil by late summer or early autumn, is plainly at odds with Bourassa's. Senior federal officials have repeatedly signalled Ottawa's readiness to hand additional powers to the provinces. Political strategies in both Mulroney's camp and Bourassa's, moreover, express clear hopes that a constitutional compromise can be reached in time not only to meet Quebec's deadline, but also to form the basis for election campaigns that both men must wage



PHOTOGRAPH BY

from Ottawa towards the 10 provincial capitals.

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within months after the official campaign begins. But whatever last-minute compromise emerges, it is unlikely to do more than place the stamp of constitutional authority on a shift in the balance of federal and provincial powers that already appears irreversible.

Critics claim that the change will lead to a patchwork federation of haves and have-not provinces. In the absence of strong federal leadership, they argue, other provinces may maintain social welfare systems, among other services, while poorer regions will be able to afford only skeleton health programs (page 36). Said Wells: "The national government is clearly, in the name of the bottom line, dissolving the federalist ideal to save that have kept the nation together for so long."

Analysis says that there are already numerous indications of the new policy taking effect. They are:

- Changes in transportation, including the reduction of passenger rail services and deregulation of airlines.
  - A freeze on payments under the *Equalized Program Financing Act*, which helps help hospitals and higher education.
  - The withdrawal of Ottawa from the employment insurance program with businesses and employees jockeying up the full cost.
  - Restrictions on payments to Ontario, *British Columbia* and *Alberta* under the *Canada Assistance Program*, which helps handicapped persons in those provinces, which were nearly half of all welfare recipients in Canada, say that their taxpayers will have to pay an additional \$465 million in 1991 and 1992.
- Those reductions have clearly helped to slow the increase in the federal deficit. But the pro-

## National Notes

### ALLEGATIONS OF RACISM

Two Alberta inquiries criticized the province's justice system for its treatment of natives. *Assistant Chief Judge Carl Ball* reported that police officers sometimes displayed "attitudes of superiority and paternalism" while investigating a number of sudden deaths over the past two decades on the Blood Indian Reserve in southern Alberta. In the other report, *Court of Queen's Bench Justice Robert Cameron* declared that "about 600 people are exposed daily to racism" in the criminal justice system and the society at large.

### DYS SCORES THE SENATE

Another Government of Day disclosed a hidden \$13.4-million cost of raising the Senate, in addition to the \$42-million budget. Items noted included extensive travel by senators and their families, unregulated telephone expenses, steeply increased parking of senators and the hiring of residences in staff.

### A MURDER SUSPECT SURRENDERS

The subject of a Canada-wide manhunt, *Dmitry S. Delya*, 21, surrendered to police in Vancouver and was charged with three counts of first-degree murder in the triple slaying of his sister, her husband and another man at a Calgary shopping mall on March 15. Delya's lawyer said that his client will plead not guilty.

### NOT GUILTY

New Scotia Supreme Court Justice David Gaudy found Audrey Delle Latta, 50, not guilty by reason of insanity in the killings of his wife's parents and her sister in 1994. Gaudy ordered that Latta be released unconditionally to the psychiatric hospital where she spent the past 27 years after being declared unfit to stand trial. On March 21, the New Scotia Supreme Court had ruled that Latta, recently released from hospital, was fit to stand trial.

### REDEWY DISCHARGED

Former federal housing minister *Alma Redway* received an absolute discharge after pleading guilty to a charge laid under the *Accession Act* after he spent about a year at the Ontario International Airport on March 14. Ontario Court Judge James Potvin said that the Toronto wife, who resigned from cabinet following the charge, had already suffered enough for what he called "an indictment construct."

### RISING SUNDRIES

Statistical Canada reported that the suicide rate for men has increased by 42 per cent over the past 20 years, but the rate among women has remained constant.

Mulroney with Wilson, Parliament Buildings (top) visiting Ottawa's power



# Confederation's Bottom Line

Net federal benefits received or net contributions paid, dollars per person, 1968-1969 fiscal year



	B.C.	ALTA.	SASK.	MAN.	ONT.	QUE.	N.B.	N.S.	P.E.I.	Nfld.
Federal benefits received	4,425	4,021	5,607	5,667	3,331	4,220	6,042	7,480	7,528	6,000
Less taxes paid to Ottawa	3,950	4,433	2,924	3,229	4,798	3,049	2,735	3,034	3,302	2,277
Less deferred tax assets*			1,124	1,316	918	778	683	711	647	
Net gain or loss	-645	-1,688	1,854	1,521	-821	304	3,350	3,758	4,350	3,695

\*The deferred taxes, which offset the 1968-1969 federal deficit, are deemed to be payable in future months in the same proportion per province or per share of federal taxes actually collected in each province.

have been unwilling to make up to the shortfall in order to spend. "Most provinces don't have the money to step in and take over these programs," said Donald Sorens, a business professor at New Brunswick's University of Moncton and an advisor to the federal government. Instead, several provinces have shifted their own priorities to unemployment, hospitals and universities. And unless provinces prove willing to raise taxes to provide additional funding, the federal actions "could mean the end of confederation as a national program within five or six years," warned the National Council of Welfare, a chamber of commerce in social issues, in one recent report.

Worried by possibly retreating from the financing of many programs, Ottawa is reversing a decade-old trend. Although the province was granted jurisdiction over social services at the time of Confederation, the Great Depression in the 1930s exposed the inability—or unwillingness—of many of them to fund such programs. As a result, beginning with unemployment relief payments, Ottawa moved increasingly into such areas as prisons, welfare, health and higher education after the Second World War. At the same time, Ottawa required the provinces to adhere to common national standards in order to qualify for federal funds.

But Ottawa's audacious expansion also contributed heavily to the federal debt—which has now reached \$360 billion. With 37 per cent of the federal budget now used to pay interest on that debt, the Tories say that Ottawa can no longer afford the role that it assumed at the peak after the war. Even some of the arch-boosters of its expansion acknowledge that overspending led a debt that now severely constrains Ottawa's power to act. "There has been a playing up of common federal obligations,"

said Thomas Kest, a powerful Liberal policy adviser in the 1950s, when confederation was unshakable. "I feel there is no question that the federal government has been unconsciously weakened."

Some analysts say that the Tories' abstinence with deficit reduction results in an individualist attitude for government social programs. Margaret Marshall, for one, an economist at

Uglen, says that "part of a natural evolution would be to reduce even local involvement."

Many others appear to share that attitude. According to pollster Justin Levin, a senior associate at the Toronto-based Economics Research Group, Canadian politicians (by order to see the provinces) in various recent provincial activity, including communications, transportation and health. Added Levin, "People have begun to identify more with the provincial governments than the federal government."

Quebec's business leaders, as well, have encouraged a trend that they say is likely to reduce dependence of services between Ottawa and the province. Bob Gaudin, Pacific Ltd. chairman William Shotton. "We hope overall that we are going to have less government."

But even as many Canadian-dollar-denominated control over political decisions, revised Macdonald/Ottawa polls have shown that, outside Quebec, they continue to express strong attachment to their common national identity. Ottawa's prime minister Bob has launched that view last week when he declared: "We cannot just pass the federal government as a past offer. It leaves out the rest of Canada." Perhaps the most troubling aspect of the new decentralizing trend is that Ottawa may no longer be able to afford any other course.

BRUCE WALLACE and MARCY WOOD with E. KARE PELLERIN in Ottawa and BRUNO DALL'AGLIA in Toronto



Marshall: "an excuse" for cutting social spending

Margaret Marshall, an economist at the University of Toronto, says that the government has neglected Ottawa's role that the deficit is out of control "as an excuse for cutting back on these basic obligations." But many observers support the Tories' desire for a smaller federal government. British Columbia's Social Credit government has, in fact, strongly advocated more provincial control over social spending. Premier B.C. Irvine, after Mr. Coopers, now one of several possible candidates in recent Premier William Vander Zalm, described the shrinking of federal

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# THE PEOPLE'S ANGER

## CANADIANS TAKE THEIR SHOTS AT POLITICIANS

It was another novel device in the search for the nation's soul. Since the *Canoe*, Forum on Canada's Future brought its public deliberations in January, Helen Zukowski, one of 12 forum commissioners, had met with housing poets in the streets of B.C. cities, corporate executives in a Vancouver boardroom, a flood victim living on an Alberta reserve and protesters in a Montreal pub. Then, one evening late last month, 134 busloads of Winnipeg in Wablon, Man., Zukowski,

dicted that the opening of a million Canadians would be represented as his report, which is due on Canada Day, July 1. It now seems unlikely that the province will be first. But tens of thousands of people are pointing out about the land of Canada that they want. It belongs to their children. By the end of March, more than 177,000 Canadians had participated in meetings. Whipped there was to a 10-hour session at each session connects that their strongest complaint, according to Zukowski, has been that governments have accessibly ignored them. She added: "People are tired of being left out."



Zukowski everywhere, 'people are tired of being left out'

and he also expressed concern that the opinions of thousands of Canadians who are speaking in the forum may not carry much weight. With the book's work only half-over, the federal government that created it has already put in motion a radical reorganization of the federal government. Despite those concerns, the forum has slowly been gaining credibility—and even respect. Said George Brown, president of the Triple E Fund, one of those who the forum has: "I was skeptical at first, but I was most impressed with the quality of the discussion. I felt good about it."

Forum chairman Keith Spicer usually pro-

posed the views that Canadians are now eagerly expressing, however, not entirely to the forum's advantage. The forum was launched on Nov. 1 as a response to the breakdown of the March 31 deal. But in the central question of Quebec's place in Canada, the ideas and opinions presented to the forum have been a shock. Many Canadians who have spoken have expressed both the prospect of Quebec's leaving Canada—and of granting that province any special rights within Confederation. And many participants are taking the opportunity to deliver scathing assessments of government policy on virtually every

front—from Indian affairs to the national debt. Others, the criticism is directed personally at the Prime Minister. Said Zukowski, "I haven't found one group where people weren't ready to beat Brian Mulroney."

Indeed, during one recent *Canoe* forum of meetings, a Canada's geographic heartland, Manitobans repeatedly drove home their frustration over the country's policies—and politicians. At one gathering, Walter Latzer, 74, said that most "politicians here, but their connection with ordinary people." Said Latzer, the mayor of Morden (population 5,500, 118 km southwest of Winnipeg): "They are playing one part of the country off against the other." It is a discussion at a meal in Morden, 100 km north of the provincial capital, volunteer volunteer David Munro, a 37-year-old unemployed father of two, said: "I have the feeling that everybody in this meeting doesn't trust the politicians to do the job."

**Forum:** Still, it has been just that clear what job the forum's speakers want the politicians to do on the face of Quebec's demands for unprecedented new constitutional powers. Few participants at the forum's Manitoba branch seemed prepared to accept Quebec any special powers or any constitutional distinction from the other provinces. Said 44-year-old Catherine Melanson, of Gomb, for one: "Canadians should be one country—not 10 small republics." At the same time, most of the speakers also said that they would not like to see Quebec leave Confederation. Paul A. Starnes, a writer and translator of Québécois poetry who lives near Montreal, declared: "Canada is two in one growing together, together together together. And now, we want to tear one of them out. It's unthinkable."

Many other Canadians are also taking the forum that they fear for their country's very survival. Said registered psychiatrist west Stephen Butler, of the Gomb forum: "I see this country being torn apart." Retired school principal Thomas Phillips told the same gathering: "If Quebec were to secede, I worry about our own future." Added Phillips: "If we say 'Let's stay together,' we might as well say goodbye to Canada."

But Canadians are also expressing anger and frustration about other national issues, language and bilingualism, the treatment of natives, the environment, the economy, energy

and the state of many of Canada's public institutions. Some participants vented well beyond the forum's suggested topics to comment on the role of the media in national affairs—usually negatively—and on cross-border shopping and the diminishing wealth of the middle class.

**Concerns:** At Gomb, the forum's 36-hour session in a sparsely furnished motel meeting room produced an array of many of the concerns that commissioners have heard repeatedly

While discussion on these and other issues was spirited—even heated at times—there was unanimity in Gomb that it is essential to resolve the complaints of native Canadians. "Their grievances are justified," said Nina Phillips. "They have been treated as second-class citizens." Added Butler: "What we seem to forget is that we took everything away from them in the first place."

Another common refrain the hearings was anger and disappointment at the performance

of Parliament who do not reflect their will. And one participant proposed that Canadians be able to deduct the cost of making their votes from parts of the country from their income tax.

For his part, Mulroney's letter criticized the current structure of Parliament. As an alternative, he proposed that MPs be elected for fixed four-year terms and that opposition MPs be allowed to take part in the administration of the country after the first two years of a government's term in office. Gomb's Melanson, who moved to Canada from Britain in 1978, said that Canadians will have to change their basic attitudes. Describing parliament as "a concentration of a well-ordered lie," she said that all Canadians should cultivate that attitude. She added: "We should all be Canadians first."

**Message:** But amid the flurry of ideas on other topics, one point overrode all others at the meetings in Manitoba: Canada's leaders must start to listen to the country's voters. That time message was at the heart of the forum's March 30 interim report. But some participants said they feared that even that lesson might be lost on the politicians in Ottawa. Said Mulroney's wife, "Our concern is that we say these things and no one listens, that nothing comes of it."

But there is clearly reason for the federal government to heed the forum's findings, even if only to counter the cynicism that commissioners have detected among partic-

ipants. Declared University of Manitoba political scientist Kathy Brock, "If the Spicer report does reflect the people's views, and say just some of the time, the government will have to act—or disillusionment will grow exponentially." During an appearance last week in Newfoundland, Spicer himself called the forum "the best hope we have for the average citizen to be heard."

In Manitoba, Robert Norwood, a Quebec City newspaper publisher and one of three francophone commissioners, expressed confidence that Ottawa will pay attention to the forum's discussion. In an interview at the College Louis Riel in St-John's, where he met with a Gomb 11 January class, Norwood said: "If we succeed in detecting the common threads of concern in the country, the government won't be able to disregard it." But as the forum continued its hearings, there seemed to be less and less unifying threads with which to mend the tears in Canada's endangered Confederation.

GLEN ALLAN at Windsor



Chairman Spicer; participant Ken (below) but will the politicians listen to the people?

city across the country. Retired teacher Nina Phillips, one of 18 people taking part, said that she was concerned "that our public institutions are disintegrating." She cited reductions at the CBC as a result of federal budget cuts. Said Phillips: "This is an indication that a being disintegrated. We can't afford to lose it." By contrast, Allen Olson, a former school board chairman, told the meeting that the national debt "is tearing the social fabric of the country apart." For his part, retired industrial worker Fred Rutledge declared: "We need one standard of education right across the country from coast to coast."

And same speaker expressed concern that Canada would come under pressure from the United States to supply fresh water. Said Seider: "We've got water, and the U.S. wants, and that's water."

of the country's national leaders. Participants among Manitoba forum meetings detected three signs of Mulroney: Said Mulroney's Spence: "I am just watching with anger at this man who has tried to be expedient." Added Latzer: "People are starting to realize they were foolish to listen to him in the first place."

As a lightning rod for complaints, the forum has been remarkably effective. It has been less successful at eliciting solutions. As a means associated to his fellow commissioners on Nov. 3, Spicer wrote: "The every problem people see, let's all try to come up with at least one practical solution." But there have been few helpful suggestions. Some people proposed that the Manitoba meetings that the Senate should be reformed or simply abolished. Others declared that the



Forum on Canada's Future



SPECIAL REPORT

# ROOTED IN A LAND APART

## 'QUINTESSENTIAL' QUEBEC SPEAKS OUT



For the people who live along its shores, the Saguenay is the quintessential heart of Quebec: its 175 km north of Quebec City, the inhabitants are gripped by a sense of pride. "It's a good time," raves restaurant owner Robert Thibault as he stands late last month on the bank at Tadoussac, watching the Saguenay as it flows into the St. Lawrence. "Winter's over, summer's coming, and we're all alive and well." The excitement over the spring break-up matches the mood of anticipation among a people who are in the vanguard of the movement for an independent Quebec.

Time and place have combined in the ruggedly beautiful Saguenay river basin to breed a population that is among Quebec's most ardent supporters of independence, a view concentrated here in the desire for independence that is reflected throughout the province. The history of the region has produced a homogeneous

group that is not only overwhelmingly francophone, but also almost entirely descended from the original French settler stock, antecedents whose heritage is revered in Quebec as "pure blood" or "rural stock" (old rind) And told very recently, the area's remote location has forced these people to rely on their own resources, looking inward for both economic and cultural sustenance. "We are the quintessential Québécois," said Roland Fournier, a Saguenay native and chief architect of the Saguenay Historical Society. As such, many inhabitants seem united by the prospect that Quebec's independence would demote Canada "I'm not Canadian," said Michel Deshaies, executive assistant to Chloé Deshaies, Fournier's daughter. "I'm from Saguenay"—La Saguenay. I am a Québécois.

**Constants:** There are some 310,000 of these self-proclaimed true Québécois living in the Saguenay region. They are scattered in towns and villages and hamlets in a 75-mile stretch along both banks of the river and around the shores of the 540-square-mile body of water that it drains, Lac St-Jean. As they have been for generations, the river and the lake are two constants in the lives of virtually all the inhabitants. A third is the surrounding

**Bélanger: "Canada means very little to me"**

forest of pine, spruce and hemlock. A single rail line and three busy roads wind through the forest, linking the Saguenay with Quebec City and with remote northern regions. "You cannot really understand what makes us tick until you've traveled one of these roads, especially in the winter," said Carol Nivon, chief editorial writer for *Le Quotidien*, the newspaper published in Châteauguay, a community of 40,000 between Lac St-Jean and the St. Lawrence. "We sit up here, isolated, but we can never get isolated, surrounded by so many forests of trees. We really are a world apart."

In its use of language, it is also a world with a single role. French is not merely the dominant language in the region, it is virtually the only one. Of the people who live along the Saguenay or on the shores of Lac St-Jean, only a handful speak languages other than French as their native tongue. What is more, the anglophone population is almost totally assimilated into the dominant francophone. The handful of anglophones, the few individuals not descended from French or Irish settlers, are largely French-speaking recent arrivals from Vietnam and Kampuchea. As Deshaies, the prominent political aide, explained: "We are anxious to the language problem for the simple reason that almost everybody here is French, and that tiny percentage of the population which is not speaks French the way the natives do."

There is, in well, an additional refinement among the people of the Saguenay, a historical claim that helps to explain why they are so often viewed as a microcosm of the larger francophone Quebec society. The European settlement of the Saguenay was one of the first of its kind in North America. The remains of Viking settlements dating back 1,000 years have been unearthed along the river. Basque fishermen, probably whalers—beluga whales still abound the waters around the mouth of the river—also left their traces long before Jacques Cartier first put the area on a map in Sept. 1, 1535, exploring the world the local Indians called *St. Lawrence*, the region as "the place where the waters empty."

Still, the Saguenay remained an isolated domain of a few hardy fur traders and hunters until relatively recently. In 1838, a band of several hundred Québécois left their homes in the Châteauguay district, on the northeastern shore of the St. Lawrence, and trekked across the Laurentian Mountains to the Saguenay in search of a better life. Almost all of the area's current residents are descendants of these original families, now reflected in the proportion of only a handful of non-Quebécois residents. In the Châteauguay francophone body of water, there are 21 pages of Tremblay's. The Parti Québécois member of the legislature for Châteauguay is not the only Québécois in local politics. Châteauguay's mayor is also a Québécois.

hans, as is the federal Conservative MP from neighboring *Jonquière* and the provincial Liberal MP from nearby *Roberval*. "Most Québécois have a sense of themselves and their place that is rooted in a unique history," remarked Saguenay historian Bélanger. "You could describe us as extreme examples of the phenomenon."

**Islets:** The homogeneity has also created a culture of isolation, which is a distaste of many of the views and attitudes held by the province's French-speaking majority. Culturally, the people of the Saguenay have interests similar to their compatriots elsewhere in the province. The most popular television program is *Radio-Canada's Les Filles du Café*, a weekly hour-long dramatization of the life of a turn-of-the-century woman school teacher. It draws three million viewers at a province-wide population of 5.5 million francophones. They read the works of such popular writers as Yves Beauchemin, Andrée Gosselin, Jacques Boivin and Gilles Archambault. These popular stars are Miriam, Roch Voisin, René Simard and Gilles Dine. And huge numbers watch the televised games of the Quebec Nordiques and the Montreal Canadiens. In their almost exclusive preoccupation with culture, however, the people of the Saguenay resemble many in the rest of the province. As far as culture is concerned—whether of the widely popular variety or in the more rarified realm of its arts—the Saguenay is a land split from the rest of North America.

Politics in the region tend to be radical. Lucien Bouchard, the former federal environment minister who now is one of the leading advocates of Quebec independence after leaving Brian Mulroney's government, almost a year ago, was born and grew up beside the river—and he continues to represent the federal riding of Lac Stepieux in Ottawa. All five provincial ridings in the region voted for sovereignty in the 1980 referendum on the issue. Recent public opinion polls show that they would repeat their action if another referendum were held now. The politicians who support for independence in the region are close to



Châteauguay: a history of endurance, isolation and voting in favor of an independent Quebec

30 percentage points stronger than in the rest of the province, where it has exceeded 50 percent.

There are pockets of federalist support in the area. Mulroney's Quebec lieutenant Raulo Bouchard, for one, represents Roberval. But such support is based on practical reasons—not emotional ties to Canada. Claude Deshaies, a teacher at Sacré-Cœur near the river's mouth, said that he shared the nationalists' dream of independence, "but you also have to feed your family." And in a recent

week-long tour of the region, Mulroney found that many people shared a view advanced by political assistant Deshaies, who said, "We don't have to separate from Canada. We are already separated."

**Soil:** Others stress the Québécois sense of attachment to the rest of Canada. Said Nivon, the Châteauguay journalist: "We may not be a distinct society, but we are certainly a different society. We are like a large European state, Luxembourg, for instance." And historian Bélanger, who has lived and studied in Vancouver and Ottawa, said, "I have to admit that Canada, as a concept, means very little to us. I live Vancouver, for instance, but I do not feel in my mind that it is a part of me or my country."

**Disenchantment separates dreams, but you have to feed your family**



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## BEYOND FANTASY

VANDER ZALM ENDS  
A BIZARRE CHAPTER  
IN THE POLITICS  
OF EXTREMES IN  
BRITISH COLUMBIA

Nine years ago, Peter C. Newman traded in the comfort of Maclean's for what he terms "the comfort of self-employment." Now living in the island village of Deep Cove, near Vancouver, Senior Contributing Editor Newman writes the weekly *Business Week* column (page 42). He is a widely respected essayist, an astute critic of the regime of William Vander Zalm, who announced his resignation as B.C. premier last week, and the colorful (and ineffectual) premier he attempted to run. His report:

Some towns and places are utterly changeable. But only British Columbia could have produced William Vander Zalm, who put himself and the province out of their misery last week by resigning and calling a Social Credit leadership convention. Most Canadians viewed the premier for providing some badly needed comic relief in the current panorama of Canadian politics. But British Columbians knew better: Vander Zalm was, after all, a child of the same Pacific coast forest that cradled such implacable mythical beings as the high-flying grizzly bear and Ogopogo, the underwater serpent of Okanagan Lake. Who knows what sort of implacable ancestor will emerge to take his place?

Vander Zalm's major fault as a politician is that he has no ideology and the attention span of a squirrel. He never managed to articulate a comprehensive vision beyond the personal message that voting for him would bring "the socialist beasties" at bay. Yet his political message was as plain as the oops on his teeth: "vote for me and everything will be 'baaaa-tastic'."

Vander Zalm and wife Lillian in 1990's wild-top costume: Ng and Kwei



Vander Zalm may be the only Canadian politician who would a successful coup if that against himself. Because Social Credit is not a party but a political label, it requires not only campaign funds but also legitimacy. The access of both these commodities in the Vancouver business community, and it was his deliberate self-destruction from that power-broking group that contributed the most to his personal downfall. The *Blues* Street, here, as they've known on these far shores, were willing to get up with Vander Zalm's racy excesses, as long as he gave them a policy voice. Not when Peter Minister Mike Carver resigned his portfolio last month, the last link was severed.

British Columbia can only be understood as a contradictory and unpredictable—as apocalyptic to the contrary, rather than part of it. Premier's are places for states of mind to escape to, lands for rays of light to find and feel poured in, and they operate according to their own rules.

There is not much evidence in the Pacific coast province of the dreary homogeneity of the other Maritime, the self-absorption of Quebec, the superiority of Ontario, the Midwestern optimism of Manitoba or the lowly-hoodiness of Alberta. This is an open border where at times most of the time, and you're never sure whether it's God trying to work the province into its own, or simply its own.

It was a very Canadian place. There's no vestige of the Protestant ethic that made this country great. In fact, modernity, some of the defencelessness that characterizes the Canadian empire, where else? People play hard at work, though the cost of making it in British Columbia can be as high as it does anywhere else—capital out of the marrow.

Most of British Columbia's most successful citizens are proud of the sweat that went into their fortunes, and instead of trying to hide their accomplishments in respectability they find new ways of showing off—flashing their jets, women and cash.

One of the few unstable things Vander Zalm ever said was that of Quebec could be

fine itself as a distinct society. British Columbia had at least as equal claim to be allowed to do so. It's a valid argument, and I would have said so. But I also wondered what precisely makes British Columbia and its politics so unique. I've discovered the main difference to be sharply everything in politics. British Columbians consistently live on the edge, they are willing to make any, late modernism or compromise.

The province alternates between the most left-wing and most right-wing administrations in the country; it has Canada's highest percentage of unskilled workers and the most reputation for defence in the Commonwealth. When Barry Fallick of North Vancouver died his partner, Sylvia Lewis, she did not settle for just getting married or getting even; she closed her shop with Grand Marine while he was sleeping and set him on fire. Three religion links to other people. When Vander Zalm installed a private room in the provincial legislature, where its members could contemplate their souls, it was immediately invaded by a coven of witches, a sorcerer and a couple of garden-variety Victorian pagans, and finally had to be closed.

During the years of that attitude of confrontation and polemicism is difficult. These are not a laughing people. Few British Columbians believe in history, even their own if it involves looting or slavery. Yet there is a strand of thought and events reaching back to the province's dramatic beginnings that helps explain the process of all that polarization.

It all started in the backwoods—whether they be forest, timber, railway builders, miners or loggers. They were independently minded men who worked long hours in the wilderness, poor, powerless and frustrated, they carried their losses, and dreamed of overthrowing society as it existed to create a new social order with more equitable rules. "They were men from the land of England who brought to Canada rugged individualism and a marked propensity towards independent policies then derivative of the English and Scottish," wrote Prof. Robin Fisher, a University of British Columbia historian. Fisher noted "Equally evident were the many American workers who provided the early constituency of critical issues. The proliferation of company towns, the struggles of the hard-rock miners, the millmen and steelworkers within the bowels of the earth, the rapid proliferation of militant agricultural organizations and the frontier tradition of violence as a solution to social conflicts, contributed to the 'heritage of conflict' between capitalists and workers."

On the other side of that early economic equation were the bosses, rugged frontiersmen who owned their own assets or local concerns and were determined to keep every cent of muscle and skill of their working workers. They held off the unions as long as they could, using federal troops or militia gangs to settle strikes going not as such in the battle for greater profits.

A century-old problem was that because of its rugged and rugged terrain, British Co-

lumbia has never had more than a relatively small agricultural sector, thus leaving the solid and stable base that farmers usually bring to politics. "British Columbia is almost unique in this continent. If not the world, by having virtually no agricultural base," says Peter Peirce, a professor of forestry at the University of British Columbia who spends most of his time heading national and provincial royal commissions. "An agrarian base can be a very moderating influence. People who come from the land can exercise a significantly stabilizing force in politics, but all we had was knowledge, entrepreneurs and the aggressive desire to do what it takes to work the land. The heritage of all that friction in the two right-wing parties are more reactionary than anywhere else, and our left-wing parties, more socialist—and there is nothing in between." Out of the historic struggles between patricians and other people, and their even more patrician bosses came the political, social and economic polarization that still pervades contemporary British Columbia.

If most Canadians view British Columbia as a strange and unpredictable place, most of the Pacific province's citizens recognize that statement. They have an image of Toronto as being inhabited mainly by nice-colored middle-class citizens who eat porridge for breakfast and never have any fun. They're quite happy to see Toronto on alternate long years, as long as it's far so (more than three days at a time). They think Bay Street is populated by befuddled bankers, sweating corporate executives and vice presidents in charge of environmental impact studies who spend most of their waking hours writing papers.

It is no wonder that when they travel east, British Columbia's boosters are always being put down for acting like back-bush amateurs from some overrated Shaggy-La beyond the Rockies. They have a well-earned reputation for being in a constant state of "not wanting to be" wanted and "possibly being" scenery, dismissing any doubts as attacks on not just their taste, but their honor.

The eastern and western industrialists seldom meet, because most of the time they regard Canada as an Atlantic province and view British Columbia, if they think of it at all, as a troublesome province on some distant second shore. That is a shame because if we have any viable economic future, a good part of it will have to be found in the Pacific Rim, with Vancouver as the central gateway.

William Vander Zalm's departure promises from power the most colorful of Canada's reigning premiers, but not much will change. British Columbia politics will stay as polarized as ever, not amenable to it seems the next generation of politicians will not be equally bold. After all, no modern B.C. politician has yet equaled the record of the province's second premier. He was a designer, interior photographer and journalist who changed his name from William Smith to Anne De Courten (I think) and was once a Victoria union official. U

# THE DECLINE AND THE FALL

## THE PREMIER ENDS FIVE STORMY YEARS

Scandal piled upon scandal, no visit accounted reveal, resignation followed resignation—yet this no previous spectacle played out in a couple years in office. And each time, William Vander Zalm didn't tuck and tail back but each time he also slipped a little further in the polls and his Social Credit party eroded a little more because his. Finally late last week, it became clear that the pressures had become too great. The premier of Canada's Columbia—elected in 1986, during another election to be called by the end of the year, trailing disapprover New Democrats, and himself the subject of three separate investigations into his conduct in office—had run out of lightning bolts. In a succinct, five-minute statement at a Good Friday news conference in Vancouver, Vander Zalm, a handsome and still brawny 50, announced that he would stand down after a brief-notice campaign to be held "as soon as possible." His trademark grin appeared forced as he briefly looked questioners (They he smiled and, with his parting words: "I certainly wish you all a happy Easter"—trailing after him, he was gone).

But Vander Zalm's five-year term was as stormy as the storm. But the immediate chain of events that culminated in his resignation began on Sept. 7, when Vander Zalm and his wife, Lillian, said Fantasy Gardens, their 23-acre Island-themed park, botanical gardens and mall in Richmond, B.C., in Vancouver's false Ty To (The \$36 million transaction quickly

the president had become elusive. The RCMP was investigating Vander Zalm's business affairs; results of accusations of irregularity by Peter Leung, the old estate agent in the Fantasy Gardens sale. A special prosecutor assigned that inquiry also was requesting alleged liquor and restaurant at Fantasy Gardens. And B.C. cabinet-minister, commissioner Edward Hughes reviewed the premier's involvement in



Fantasy Gardens controversy grew after the \$10-million sale

the sale. His report was due this week. Still, Vander Zalm continued to insist that he had done nothing wrong. Responding to a reporter after his Good Friday statement, he made it clear that he was bitter about news coverage of the Fantasy Gardens sale. Still Vander Zalm "I'm sure anyone who had sold a family house, you wouldn't even care about it. You wouldn't be questioning it for one

moment." But it was clear that the weight of the ongoing investigations had tilted the political balance against him. "We all know that this was inevitable, but I am delighted that it came to this for the premier," declared senior Social B.C. Grace McCarthy, who now may become a candidate in the leadership race to succeed Vander Zalm (page 36). Added McCarthy, who resigned from the provincial cabinet in 1985 over Vander Zalm's leadership: "This is not the best way to leave public life." In the eyes of some critics, the manner of Vander Zalm's leaving was not the best way to ensure that the embattled Social Credit party has a chance of success in the next provincial election. If, as he plans, Vander Zalm steps in as leader under a convention, he will continue to provide an easy target for the opposition New Democrats and their leader, Michael Harcourt, now leading the B.C. Liberals by as much as 15 percentage points in public opinion polls (page 38). If, as he plans, Vander Zalm steps in as leader under a convention, he will continue to provide an easy target for the opposition New Democrats and their leader, Michael Harcourt, now leading the B.C. Liberals by as much as 15 percentage points in public opinion polls (page 38). If, as he plans, Vander Zalm steps in as leader under a convention, he will continue to provide an easy target for the opposition New Democrats and their leader, Michael Harcourt, now leading the B.C. Liberals by as much as 15 percentage points in public opinion polls (page 38).

But until last week, Vander Zalm had far from invited suggestions that he resign, a view from his own cabinet. In one cabinet meeting in early March, Rita Johnston, the minister of transportation, deputy premier and a longtime Vander Zalm loyalist, told him privately that the Fantasy Gardens scandal would be quickly derailing whatever hopes the party still had for re-election.

**Shakers:** But statistics reflected on his own pollsters—and conventional wisdom—were Vander Zalm's credentials. A son of 10 from who came to Canada with his family at the age of 10, Vander Zalm first ran, as a Liberal, in the 1968 federal election for the seat of Vancouver and was elected to the House of Commons in 1974 after serving in the ranks of Ontario, on the southwestern outskirts of Vancouver. In the 1975 provincial election, he was the riding of Surrey, and was appointed business resources minister by then-Premier William Bennett.

It was the first of many cabinet positions for Vander Zalm. But he quickly developed a reputation as a maverick. After first being named as the cabinet, he complained about job-related welfare inquiries, declaring: "I they don't have a shovelful, they should get one, because otherwise we're going to give them one." This tendency to dissent from the line he was expected to follow in the second year of his 1979, a song that Vander Zalm wrote and then performed for a party gathering contained the line "When out of the seat came the song of a thing"—a reference to Quebec Premier René Lévesque. Fellow cabinet ministers also found them-

selves subject to Vander Zalm's outspokenness. In July, 1983, the government opposed the legislature without passing a consensus motion led by Vander Zalm, who ministerial affairs minister had introduced the legislature criticized his colleagues as "glib." That statement left Vander Zalm isolated within cabinet and the Social establishment. And on April 1, 1983—also a Good Friday—he resigned from both cabinet and the legislature. A year later, he and his wife purchased Fantasy Gardens for \$17 million.

Two years later, when Premier William Bennett retired, Vander Zalm returned to politics to lead the party leadership as an outsider. In late July 30, fourth-bidder victory, he mounted an appeal in grassroots B.C. Liberals and defeated 11 other candidates that included four members of the Bennett cabinet and current cabinet Justice Minister Ken Campbell.

The Vander Zalm government attempted to present a united front. But almost immediately, there was trouble at Fantasy Gardens. Only then did Vander Zalm was sworn in as premier. A B.C. government agency approved a zoning request that raised the assessed value of a portion of the site to \$4.8 million from \$800,000. New Democrats reacted with outrage and allegations of conflict of interest. But the accusations failed to dent the new premier's popularity—in the aftermath of the October, 1986, provincial election quickly won close. With Vander Zalm portending the 30% as upstart candidates who would undermine the province, the election of 1986 was a surprise victory, increasing their representation in the newly expanded 99-seat legislature to 47 seats from 32—while the 30% increased their standings by only one seat, to 12.

**Early:** But Vander Zalm's positive line honeymoon was short-lived—with both the electorate and the party behind. A string of cabinet resignations over alleged conflicts of interest contributed to the erosion of Social support in the polls. More damaging was the early independent criticism of an apparent revolt against Vander Zalm within his own party. First, in June, 1986, Brian Smith, who had played second in the leadership campaign, resigned as attorney general—confronting the premier for interfering with his duties. A week later, McCarthy, who had become economic development minister, followed—citing much the same reasons. Vander Zalm was not the only one to resign. But October, 1986, the party had 161, eight per centage below the vote. An emergency caucus meeting that month, Vander Zalm's own ministers told him that the party would not survive another election with him at the helm. Still, the premier refused to step down.

Less than a year later, Vander Zalm announced the sale of Fantasy Gardens. The sale was conducted at the end of a visit by the premier and his daughter to British Columbia during which they received a red-carpet reception from the B.C. government—including an elegant lunch with B.C. Lt.-Gov. David Lam. The 30% accused Vander Zalm of using



Vander Zalm still as charge as an election nears

political hospitality to promote private business transactions. Vander Zalm denied any such connection. He claimed that the sale had been handled by his wife, who, he said, was the majority shareholder in Fantasy Gardens. That assertion was challenged when The Vancouver Times revealed that the premier himself



Leung with her lawyer; damaging papers and tapes

reviewed the majority shareholder—with 83 per cent of the stock—in Fantasy Gardens holding company. The premier responded that he was guilty of "stupidity" for not knowing the precise state.

Meanwhile, the host was taking on a bombshell. In February, as part of her defense in an unrelated case, Leung filed a suit of

documents with the B.C. Supreme Court. Included among them were papers bearing Vander Zalm's signature, indicating that he had been intimately involved in the Fantasy Gardens sale—and contradicting his own assertions that the wife had handled the negotiations alone. The documents also included an Aug. 26 letter from Lillian Vander Zalm to Tim Yu, in which she assured the Vancouver businessman that "my husband and I, the Premier, had arranged for meetings with Government Ministers regarding the establishment of a new bank in British Columbia or the takeover of an established bank." On Sept. 6, the day before the Fantasy Gardens sale, Tim Yu in fact met with then-Minister Michael Melillo and senior finance department officials.

**Brief:** The premier attempted to shrug off the uproar over Fantasy Gardens. But he could no longer ignore accusations that he had used his position to arrange business access to his ministers. In response, he headed the matter over to Hughes on Feb. 14. But any hopes that he may have held for a brief respite in the attack quickly disappeared. In March 6, Governor dissolved the party by resigning, explaining that he had been unable to convince Vander Zalm that it would be proper for the premier to remain in his position while Hughes conducted the inquiry.

Meanwhile, Leung's outburst of anger produced other problems for the premier—including a suppliance to the Fantasy Gardens deal transferred by Vander Zalm himself. It called for construction in the sale of land to the Vander Zalm party—which Vander Zalm did not own—or he split equally between Vander Zalm's company and Leung Under British Columbia's Real Estate Act, it is illegal for anyone other than a real estate agent to conduct commissions. Leung noted the problem as Vander Zalm even further when she allegedly paid that the premier advanced \$30,000 (U.S. \$) in 1989 bills as an advance on commissions that the two were to split.

**Called:** Then, on March 14, Leung released edited tape recordings of two telephone conversations that she said she had held with the premier on Dec. 3 and 4. On the tapes, Leung referred to the cash advance "Well, the \$30,000 cash I was handed over to me," it was supposed to be told it a "rust," Leung said on the tape. Begged Vander Zalm "Oh, that's in trust. No problem."

Meanwhile, the premier had come under attack as other business deals were revealed that Vander Zalm was under police investigation, Attorney General Russell Prentice confirmed on March 21 that the RCMP's commercial-crime unit was looking into Leung's allegations. Two weeks earlier, Prentice said



his deputy minister had appointed a special prosecutor to oversee the police investigation, and look into possible legal aid violations at Paddy Gardens. Those investigations, coupled with the impending release of the Hagies report, clearly convinced Vander Zalm that he had to take decisive action.

The next election will tell whether this also has run out for the Social Credit party. Disputations within the federal government over Vander Zalm's leadership have left the party severely weakened, while a string of successive by-election losses to the NDP since June, 1988, has reduced the Social credit to 43 seats, compared with 28 for the NDP. Indeed, many experts are dubious about the party's chances of rebounding before the next election. Said political scientist Paul Tennant, of the University of British Columbia: "Maybe there will be a transformation under a new leader—but that would be pretty close to a miracle."

Others, though, would not rule the Social credit out. Noted British Columbian political scientist: "There are a lot of people out there who were not particularly enthusiastic about knocking an ax on Vander Zalm as leader. With a new leader, a considerable number of them will come back." And some Socialists say that the party will not be able to commission on one overlooked aspect of the past five years: the government's legislative achievements. Noted Tennant: "There have been major accomplishments under Vander Zalm—they have to a large extent been obscured by his style."

**Wings** In fact, the Social government has presided over a healthy provincial economy that appears to be weathering the recession better than other areas of the country. It has also gained a reputation for fiscal responsibility—despite due to government's efforts. And finally, for one, among the other Social governments, it has presided over a more equitable redrawing of the province's electoral boundaries and an education bill that reformed the public school curriculum and prevented students with a greater choice of disciplines. But that record is not without weak points. Among the most recent controversies: a pension plan for doctors, announced in February, that has resulted in widespread public criticism. The Social dose has balanced budgets may also also trouble. In March, the government pushed through its 13-point Taxpayer Protection Act, which froze tax rates, as well as promising balanced budgets for the next five years. That promise, in turn, has raised the possibility of future cuts in government services and programs.

Said, then from Vander Zalm's shadow, the Socialists may indeed have reasons to be hopeful that could navigate last week. "He has lost an precious little time." Indeed, that may be Vander Zalm's final, once-jogger to his party. By increasingly only his situation to manage, he has again delayed his actual departure and may as the process have weakened his party even more.

PIETER ROYMEYER with RAL QUINN and JOHN PETER in Vancouver



Harcourt: 'the real son Bill Vander Zalm constituted was being unacceptable'

## WAITING IN THE WINGS

### HARCOURT REINS IN THE SOCIALISTS

Less than half a year after Premier William Vander Zalm rushed out of the meeting room in Vancouver's Pan Pacific Hotel at the end of his Good Friday resignation announcement, B.C. New Democratic Party leader Michael Harcourt took his place. The laid, unattached 46-year-old lawyer had earlier cancelled plans to spend the afternoon with his family as he headed to oversee the Social Credit province's departure. With an election call received by law in British Columbia by the left, Harcourt struck a calm, deliberate note that he says he is counting on to win British Columbia's confidence and electoral support. Conveying his satisfaction with his rival's public criticism, Harcourt described Vander Zalm's announcement as "overdue." He also criticized the premier's party. Said Harcourt: "When you look at the man and that Bill Vander Zalm constituted, according to his own colleagues, it was the son of being unacceptable."

But with Vander Zalm departing, some commentators say that Harcourt's new visibility

may suffer. Both he and his party have pined from the string of controversies that dogged the Socialists under Vander Zalm's leadership. After winning only 23 seats out of a total of 49—43 per cent of the popular vote—in the last election, the NDP has lost the Socialists in opinion polls by up to 15 points during the past year. Now, the party is poised at the brink of power in British Columbia. Still, it has stood on the threshold of the premier's office since before—only to have the voters slam the door.

**Timeline:** Harcourt has worked tirelessly since he won the leadership in 1987 to assure the historically hard-left labor party closer to the political center. Now, as the months before the next election, he will have to persuade voters that his newly moderate party is preferable to the fanatical conservatism of Social Credit under a new and untested leader. The son of an Edmonton insurance salesman and a school teacher, Harcourt moved to Vancouver as a computer with his family and studied law at the University of British Columbia. There, he earned the nickname "No On Harcourt," after

the North Vietnamese Communist leader Ho Chi Minh, when he started acquaintances by delivering what fellow student and Vancouver-based political writer Stanley Penley now recalls as "a rapid speed-advance to his involvement in Vietnam."

Harcourt's socialist associations began to re-emerge when he was 22 and worked for a summer as a dishwasher waiter on Canada Pacific Rail. On one trip, he met then-lawyer and leader Tommy Douglas, a charismatic Baptist minister. Harcourt recalled: "I was able to talk to him all the way from Winnipeg to Vancouver, between meals. He took the time to sit down and talk to this young law student and he got me doing about politics a couple of years later. I joined the NDP." After he was called to the bar in 1968, Harcourt became director of the first socialist standard law office in the country—its Vancouver's only seat out.

**Teacher:** In June, 1973, Harcourt married Margaret Wilschke (Becky) Zalm, a New Brunswick teacher and computer whiz who had met a year earlier at a friend's birthday party in Vancouver. The couple currently live with their only child, Justin, 20, in a four-bedroom house overlooking English Bay in Vancouver. Harcourt, who last attended the University of British Columbia in 1968, left the law, to teach, to run a play that year, in addition to doing, tennis and golf. He is also an eclectic reader, whose tastes range from history books to popular fiction. On the day after Vander Zalm made his historic announcement, Harcourt told Maclean's that he was reading with a P. D. James thriller, *Death of an Expert Witness*.

Harcourt's political interest took place in 1972, when he won election as a Vancouver alderman. He remained a municipal officer during two failed attempts to win election to provincial legislative office in 1976 and 1979. Then, in 1980, Harcourt deflected an incumbent Jack Vohs to seize the Vancouver mayor's chair. Harcourt turned out to be a steady coordinator who avoided all between opposing a political health care as city council said defused the suspicion of many at the city's business community who had been wary of his socialist ties. Those achievements, and Norman Raff, a political scientist at the University of Victoria, earned him a reputation as "a reflective, inside liberal who is calm before he comes up his mind." It also helped that his re-election in 1983 and 1984, the second time turning into a challenge from a recently resigned Social Credit alderman, William Vander Zalm. Two years later, in 1986, Harcourt finally entered the legislature—sitting in opposition to newly elected Premier Vander Zalm. But the

NDP's election loss—its fourth in a row, beginning with the 1975 defeat of NDP Premier David Barrett by Vander Zalm's predecessor, Wilton Smith—left others in his party badly shaken. Party leader Robert Skelton led his own—and soon resigned. The following year, delegates to a secret meeting in Kelowna convention in Vancouver acclaimed Harcourt as Skelton's middle-of-the-road successor.

**Opposes:** His drive to moderate the party's platform continued—to occasional ripples of protest. In 1988, he stirred many in the NDP's labor wing when he accepted a demonstration by the powerful International Brotherhood of America (I.B.A.). The union was fighting in favor of logging in the environmentally sensitive Carstair Valley, on the southwest coast of Vancouver Island. Harcourt led his party in opposing it. A few weeks later, he again raised eyebrows among the party faithful when he remarked at a gathering of executives that he understood that business "resents the creation of wealth." He added: "Don't forget, it's one of an insurance salesman."

By taking his position at the moderate center of the ideological spectrum, Harcourt is clearly striving to overcome the traditional polarization of B.C. politics. In the process, he may have laid some for the province's struggling Liberals, who have not had a member elected to the legislature since 1976. And indeed, the party's leader, Captain geography to order Gordon Wilson, seemed both frustrated and uncertain last week. Said Wilson: "Surely in government now, the people of British Columbia are ready for another political party to come into the scene in Victoria."

When has clearly been unable to secure as much political benefit from Vander Zalm's setbacks as Harcourt. In one recent poll, the

Liberals stood at 12 per cent, compared with 49 for the NDP and 34 for the Socialists. The New Democrats have concentrated recently on consolidating that lead. Encouraging the process, Harcourt and other party members have portrayed the Socialists as reliably right-wing, catering to the wealthy and opposed to labor. That campaign is aimed at making the NDP appear to be the province's responsible, centrist party. But Penley charged that Harcourt had provoked that the NDP is a "hyper-entrepreneur party, and it's not even allowed."

By the strategy may not work as well as the absence of Vander Zalm's own controversial actions and statements. Said one political scientist, David Erickson: "Without Vander Zalm as the premier, the NDP performance is a whole new ball game. The department is terrible news for the NDP." Still, the party is in for better days, aggressively and forcefully, than it was during the run up to the last election. Harcourt says that he has entered an accumulated debt of \$1.5 million. He added: "I don't want troops that we can't run our own business—setting an example for how the province should be run—then we don't need to be governing."

**Conflicts:** Looking forward to the election, Harcourt has also issued his key policy positions. He told Maclean's recently that he is in elected premier, he will try to "resolve the conflicts" across the province. He added: "That includes writing native land claims, and adopting a balanced approach to providing a stable economy while recognizing the importance of protecting the environment." He also said that as new government would double the amount of space allotted to parks and wilderness areas, to 12 per cent of the province from nine per cent, to have it made before the arrival of the additional three million people who will be coming here in the next five to 10 years. "If the same taxes, he said, and that the party remains committed to such social issues as public security in the private and public sectors and the empowerment of the marginal health care system. And all of that, he claims, can be done without increasing the deficit. He also says that the party is not considering any new taxes, with the possible exception of a minimum corporate tax.

Still, Harcourt remains noticeably cautious. Said the advocate again: "I'm from the Van Buren school of politics. I don't want anything in was used I see all the votes at by 10 o'clock on election night." In the turbulence of life and politics in British Columbia, that attitude seems more than prudent.

GREG W. TAYLOR with RAL QUINN and JOHN PETER in Vancouver



Liberals Leader Wilson caught in a squeeze between left and right

# A CHANCE AT THE RING

## LEADERS-IN-WAITING WEIGH THEIR OPTIONS

The gathering at the Vancouver Trade and Convention Center's elegant ballroom last November drew many of the leading figures of the city's Howe Street financial community. The 900 people in attendance paid \$125 each to attend a fund-raiser for Social Credit Reimbursement Minister John Reynolds—and to raise a total of \$85,000 in campaign contributions for the former Vancouver stock promoter. Reynolds, who assigned his portfolio a month later, revealed that he was raising the money for his re-election campaign at the all-star riding of West Vancouver/Howe Sound. Not his 1986 campaign for that safe seated seat on Reynolds only \$15,000. In fact, party insiders say, the November dinner was the latest in a series of fund-raisers that Reynolds has helmed over the past four years to assemble a campaign war chest of \$500,000 for the day when the Social Credit leadership becomes open. Last week, that day arrived.

**Race:** Within hours of Premier William Vander Zalm's Good Friday announcement that he had asked the party to convene a leadership convention soon, Reynolds and other potential successors began weighing their chances. Reynolds, a former Conservative MP and the leader of seven children, told McArthur's that senior members were urging him to enter the race. He smiled. "The ghost hasn't stopped nagging," Reynolds, a golf and tennis enthusiast, may face some tough opponents if he enters the race. Party strategists said that former cabinet minister Grace McCarthy and Melville Couvreur will be the contenders to beat if they decide to enter the contest. Other possible contenders include Minister Claude Richmond, a former radio station manager, Education Minister Scuderie Haynes, an incumbent of a minor constituency, and Reynolds's longtime Mayor Gordon Campbell.

As governor, any of those possible candidates would be almost certain to maintain the extensive conservatism of the four-decade Vander Zalm. But University of British Columbia political scientist David Erickson: "Vernally any of the contenders would represent a shift to the left at best." That may, in fact, be essential if the party that has governed British Columbia for all but three of the past 30 years is to overcome the New Democratic 50-15-15-per-cent lead in the polls before a fall election.

Couvreur is among the most moderate among the potential contenders. Aged 61, a former corporate accountant and businessman, he ran against Vander Zalm in 1980 for the Social Credit leadership. After placing 11th in

the first ballot, Couvreur was the first of the 11 runners-up to endorse the future premier. Former finance minister William Zalm was the prevailing choice that year. Couvreur earned a reputation as one of the most widely respected provincial politicians in Canada after balancing the 1988 and 1990 budgets. But last month, Couvreur resigned from the cabinet, claiming that he could not accept the fact that Vander Zalm refused to step aside until an inquiry into the sale of the premier's Portbury Gardens estate park was complete.

Couvreur's unexpected departure was "a serious support from party dissidents who were

during the opposition years between 1972 and 1975. McCarthy sought the leadership in 1986—and finished third to Vander Zalm. The premier named McCarthy in his cabinet, but their relations quickly soured. McCarthy resigned as minister of economic development in 1988 in a protest over what she called "unintentional" assistance by the premier's office in the raising of her country. Last year, she called on the premier to resign. Then she announced in February that she would not seek re-election. Now, said the University of British Columbia's Erickson, her opposition to the premier could be an asset. Declared the academic:



McCarthy (left): Couvreur: serious candidates may need \$1 million to run

pressing for Vander Zalm's removal. But he told McArthur's that his "right-wing" management of the budget could make a leadership campaign difficult because the restraint policy alienated many party colleagues. He added: "I've known it 'De No' in caucus."

**Favorite:** Meanwhile, McCarthy, 63, appears to be an early favorite among the party rank and file, although at the end of last week she said that she had not decided whether to run. McDonnell "Assassinating Grace" by left supporters, the former Vancouver finance helped forge the current coalition of support for the party among traditional populists, liberals and Conservatives while she was Social Credit

"The more distance there is between Vander Zalm and the new leader, the better for the Successor."

Of the likely contenders, Reynolds is probably the most advanced in his preparations for a possible campaign. But he says that he will have to raise still more money. He told McArthur's: "With only \$50,000 in campaign, and the costs of air chartered no serious candidate could expect to spend less than \$1 million." During the coming campaign, that high participation price may severely limit the field.

PAUL KATILA and BRIAN BERRIGAN and JUAN PÉREZ in Vancouver



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Anti-Communist demonstrations in central Moscow: shouting support for Yeltsin and challenging the authority of Gorbachev

WORLD

# KREMLIN-BASHING

Hard-line Communists had convened the special session of the Russian Congress of People's Deputies in hopes of ousting the republic's leader, Boris Yeltsin. Instead, they helped to make last Thursday a day of triumph for the political candidate. First, angry conservative deputies voted alongside reformers to condemn Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's three-hour ban on public demonstrations in Moscow and his decree placing the capital's police under the command of the interior ministry. Then, more than 300,000 Moscowites chanting "Yeltsin! Yeltsin!" and "Gorbachev resign!" marched peacefully through the snow-dusted streets, prevented from reaching the redbrick walls of the Kremlin itself only by the presence of 50,000 heavily armed troops as well as police. This defiance, in the face of an ominous show of force, underscored the central government's growing inability to impose its will on its unruly subjects. But Sergei Derizhkov, a member of the Russian parli-

## BORIS YELTSIN GAINS STRENGTH FROM A DEFIANT PROTEST MARCH AND A VOTE BY RUSSIAN DEPUTIES

ment, "Gorbachev is a political corpse, and the fact that he brought troops to Moscow shows he doesn't know how to do his job." But Yeltsin had little time to savor these political victories. The next day, he suffered an attack in his drive to become the first directly elected leader in Soviet history when Communist deputies blocked debate on a proposal for a

new elective executive presidency for the vast republic—a post Yeltsin would be favored to win. That legislative defeat illustrated the 60-year-old Russian leader's vulnerability. As the standard-bearer for economic and democratic reforms, he is easily the most popular politician in the Soviet Union. But the wartime Communist Politburo member, who quit the party last year, does not have complete control over the Russian parliament—or its parent body, the 1,063-member congress, which convened last week. Still, his latest struggle to wrest political power from the Komsomol has clearly eroded the once-omnipotent authority of the central government—as the Moscow demonstrations proved last night.

Gorbachev's authority was still clearly in evidence in the massed forces of troops and police deployed in the city center on Thursday. Backed up by water cannons and battalions of army trucks and heavy construction equipment, steel-helmeted soldiers carrying riot shields and rubber truncheons snuffed off the

demonstrators' attempted rallying point beneath the Kremlin walls. But their presence simply underscored Gorbachev's increasing isolation from the people. And after snuffing the Kremlin last week, the besieged Soviet president had to consider other pressing challenges to his rule. The most visible of these were the economic and political dangers posed by a widening and unending strike affecting as many as one-third of the Soviet Union's 500 mines.

That labor action broke out in Murmansk when miners in the rich coalfields of Ukraine's Donetsk Basin deserted their tactics in attempt to improve their long confusions and wages. Although they earn an average of \$745 per month—40 per cent higher than the average Soviet wage—they claim that it is not enough to provide essentials for their families. Their strike has spread to coal-mining regions across the entire Soviet Union—and it has become increasingly political in nature. Under the loose coordination of the Independent Union of Miners, a newly formed organization that replaced government-run unions last year, many of the

miners' demands included rallying point beneath the Kremlin walls. But their presence simply underscored Gorbachev's increasing isolation from the people. And after snuffing the Kremlin last week, the besieged Soviet president had to consider other pressing challenges to his rule. The most visible of these were the economic and political dangers posed by a widening and unending strike affecting as many as one-third of the Soviet Union's 500 mines.

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Yeltsin calls for an elected presidency

striking workers have added Gorbachev's resignation to their list of settlement demands. Last week, about 300,000 of the nation's 1.3 million miners went on strike, shutting down mills, auto plants and other oil-powered industries with shutdowns in defiance of a March 26 deadline-to-work order issued by the Soviet parliament.

The miners' solidarity continues to fuel arguments that Sergei Prizhev, Minister of Internal Affairs, would lead last month, returning to work and dropping their political demands. "I am not sure that this strike will have any good results," said Vitali Prokhorov, a miner in Vor-

onezh, a city of 200,000 people in northern Russia. "But we can no longer get up with this kind of thing." Prokhorov, like other miners in Vladimir, complains that they have to pay much's salary to buy a pair of winter boots, if they can get them, as the black market and as much as \$30 a pound for previously grown tomatoes—complaints familiar to many other Soviet workers. Vladimir also has a secret home department, forcing Prokhorov and his wife and sister to share living space in a small wooden shed. "I believe that without resolving the entire political and economic system, life cannot get any better," said Prokhorov. "We want a genuine election by the people. We want genuine democracy."

Similar demands were voiced loudly in Moscow last week in the huge crowd gathered close to the risks of police and soldiers blocking the roads to the Kremlin. Many of the protesters acknowledged fears that they would become involved in violent confrontations with the troops. Some demonstrators added that their sense of foreboding grew earlier in the day when they noticed a pall of gray-and-black smoke hanging over the city. But the smoke had no connection with the demonstrators. It came from a massive fire that heavily damaged the 30-story U.S. Embassy building. According to Moscow firefighters, who were swiftly allowed access to the six-story, steel-and-brick building, the fire began in an elevator shaft and spread rapidly to the top floors where diplomats reportedly performed their most classified work. It caused no serious injuries, but about 100 non-Russian employees had to evacuate the building.

About 170 fire crews, thousands of Soviet citizens loaned to professional firefighters and armed in the calls for Gorbachev's resignation. Among them was Gidon Padomov, a 37-year-old Moscowan. "Gorbachev's place in history is unclear; he gave us a state of freedom," said Padomov. "He has got as far as he can go and he should step down now, leaving the Communist party to him."

On Friday morning, the streets of Moscow returned to normal as Gorbachev fulfilled a pledge to Russian investors and reformers to ease from the capital. Yeltsin supporters took their defiance outbreak on an elected presidency in stride, noting that even such hard-liners as Russian Communist party chief Ivan Polakov acknowledge the gap republicans need for such a post. And if there was no sign of compromise between Yeltsin and Gorbachev last week, both leaders could at least take comfort from the fact that a dangerously volatile incident in their bitter power struggle had ended without bloodshed.

NALCOLN GRUBER in Moscow

### BREAKTHROUGH IN ULSTER

In what could prove to be a turning point, prominent Protestant leaders agreed to join Roman Catholics in talks on the future of north-east Northern Ireland. The first six-week talks, scheduled to begin within weeks, are aimed at restoring some local government to Northern Ireland, which has been under direct British rule since 1972. The Protestant majority strongly supports continued British rule, while the Catholic minority favors unification with Ireland.

### A COUP IN MALI

Government soldiers in Mali overthrew President Moussa Traore three days of bloody riots and clashes between pro-democracy demonstrators and security forces. Traore had ruled power in a 1988 coup.

### CRISIS TAKES

Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, rival leaders of Yugoslavia's two largest republics, set a two-month deadline designed to avert civil war. Tudjman and Milosevic reportedly agreed that the Belgrade-based federal government should make personnel and policy changes to help solve the crisis. In contrast to Croatia, Communist-ruled Serbia wants Yugoslavia, a federation of six republics and two provinces, to remain centrally ruled.

### ITALY'S GOVERNMENT FALLS

Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti resigned as head of Italy's 48th government since the Second World War. He blamed squabbling among the five coalition parties as the reason for the 10-month-old government's failure.

### SHATTERED DREAMS

More than 60,000 demonstrators gathered in central Leipzig to protest against harsh economic conditions in eastern Germany and demand the resignation of German Chancellor Helmut Kohl. Almost 800,000 eastern Germans have lost their jobs since unification. Recent waves of industrial eastern firms are threatening to close, leaving 1.5 million unemployed.

### BLACKS VERSUS BLACKS

About 40 gunmen attacked black members of a fascist group in the Johannesburg township of Alexandra, killing 14 and wounding 18 others. Witnesses said that the massacre was carried out by members of the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom party, which is involved in a violent power struggle with the African National Congress.

**WILCO**

## Hussein's postwar fury

## *Iraq's strongman is battering the rebels*

W hite House spokesman, Michael Fitzwater said that it was "just one of those Washington days—a 24-hour load of shit." In fact, the brief, heated encounter quickly subsided, and allied-firm commander Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf apologized to President George Bush and went back to his quarters that Bush made a military mistake by stopping the ground war in the Persian Gulf too soon. Still, Schwarzkopf did touch a sensitive political nerve. He told a TV interviewer about the war: "We could have completely closed the door and made it a civil war situation," he continued. "I've got no intention to attack for an additional 24 hours. Iraq's army is now using the forces that had been cut off to hammer Shiite Muslims and Kurdish rebels. That's why our Bush administration is criticized that he had encouraged the connection by calling Iraq Hussein's avenger, but had abandoned the rebels to support Iraqi forces. But not just White House. Bush, who repeated apologetically, "We never made any promises to these people. The American people have as much right for a military operation to dictate the course of a political struggle as Iraq."

For their part, the rebels last week continued to ask for U.S. action to prevent Iraq from using its power against them. A week earlier, U.S. fighters shot down two Iraqi warplanes—banned from flying under a temporary ceasefire agreement reached on March 5—apparently as they flew to attack Kurdish rebel positions in the north of the country. But last week, the Kurds claimed that Iraqi jets had made repeated raids on their positions. At the same time, Hussein's lieutenants gushes attacked rebel positions relentlessly. He accepted that Kurds had been excluded from the ceasefire but blamed the Iraqis—who claimed last week that he had been "suckered"—for that they would be cast only for transporting officials and troops.

Despite Hanoi's military superiority, his already shaky position is likely to be weakened further by South peace terms about to be

imposed on Iraq. A draft resolution likely to be passed by the UN Security Council this week called for the destruction of all of Iraq's missiles and chemical and biological weapons. It would also ban all arms sales to Iraq indefinitely, and confiscate a percentage of the country's future oil income as war reparations.

Schwabkopf made his comments on Bush's decision to end the ground offensive after 100 hours during an interview in his command bunker in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. His recommendation to the President had been to "con-

was "co-ordinated with and concurred in" by Schwesky. The general himself apologized to the President for his "poor choice of words" when Bush phoned him, the following day to assure him that he was not in trouble. At an impromptu news conference on Friday to set the record straight, Schwesky declared: "I agreed 100 per cent with the decision and I think it was the correct decision."

Still, the accident added to a growing debate over Washington's decision not to go to the aid of the Kurds in northern Iraq and the Shiites in the south. Ted Marmorstein, an analyst at Washington's conservative American Enterprise Institute, "We're seeing nations that we have the power to stop and we're making a policy decision not to stop it." Conservative columnist William Safire of *The New York Times* accused Bush of a "loss of nerve and sense of moral purpose." He added that by not trying to stop "the wholesale slaughter of innocents," the President was abandoning "the last best hope of the beginning of freedom in Iraq." Lawrence Korb, a former policy adviser

in Iraq were "a sad case." But he added "What is happening in Iraq is up to the Iraqi people."

Moreover, mobile Iraqis built sand barricades across a busy road round Kirkuk, a major northern city that Kurdish rebels captured early this week. "Hundreds of Iraqis are being killed," said an official of the Kurdish Democratic Party as bombs, shells, rockets and missiles rained down on the city during a seven-hour assault by government forces. Within hours, the Baghdad regime ordered a full-scale assault. Reporting on a visit to Kirkuk, the *New York Times* said that Hussein's regime had mobilized 100,000 of Hussein's regular Revolutionary Command Guard, Baghdad's best troops. "The dear city has been fully and totally cleared of all agents," the Syrian captain of Damascus said. Kurdish spokesmen confirmed later that the *Pesh Merga* ("those who have death") guerrilla force had abandoned Kirkuk and had taken up positions "about one mile outside the city." But still later, Kurdish spokesmen in London issued a statement claiming that their forces had

In Paris, Mahmoud Othman, a spokesman for the Iraqi Kurdistan Front, one of several rebel factions, said that Hussein had mustered 16 army divisions—more than 150,000 troops—in the north. Kurdish officials appealed to the United States and to Gulf allies to destroy Hussein's ability to harm civilians. "We want to be liberated, but we need something to," he said. Another Kurdish leader, Jalil Talabani of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, also claimed that the Iraqis were using Soviet-built Scud missile launchers in contravention of the temporary ceasefire agreement. Sad Talabani, who is an Iraqi war veteran, said he was using weapons to liberate his people.

In the south of the country, the Somali-Moslem-dominated army divisions have been crushed as a result in forms of Shaba and Hagan and others. The lower Tigris and Euphrates river valleys. Last night last week, a spokesman for the rebel Islamic Dawa party claimed that his forces had recaptured the Moslem holy city of Karbala after three days fighting with government troops. Indeed, a large Shiite area and that the overall situation in the south was swinging back towards the rebels. There are reports that some soldiers were deserting.

At the same time, thousands of Shiite refugees from the fighting in and around Basra, Kuwait, Najaf and other major southern cities streamed onto the area north of the Euphrates, occupied by U.S. troops until those as a permanent refugee. The refugees left horrifying tales of the killing of many Iraqis. A boatman from Najaf, Jaleel al-Hadi, told me he had seen at least one hundred and wounded rebels who

had been wounded, as well as the doctors who were tending them. Declared Maide: "The doctors were executed by knife, not even by gun, [and] the women doctors, they ripped their clothes and cut them."

Another man from Niger claimed that troops heavily captured resistance fighters from oil-rich Nigeria, and towed the bodies of others through the streets behind their tanks. And Ghaz Aliou Rashid, a Shiite who escaped from Samarra, which government forces captured after five days of fierce fighting, appealed for help as he reached a U.S. army checkpoint. "Tell the world about us. We need help to get out of the isolation."

The growing number of refugees—estimated at 4,000 last week alone—generated a problem for the U.S. forces, who hastily improvised camps and brought in extra army troops to feed them. Adding to the problem was a steady stream of Iraqi deserters, giving them a reputation at U.S. checkpoints. Under the Geneva Conventions, they cannot be sent back, and the Americans, says, transportation them.

medical teams forecast massive health problems as a result of tainted water, shattered communications and shortages of medical supplies. With UN Security Council permission, emergency food and medical supplies were entering the country, but the exhausted Kurds pointed out that none of those supplies were reaching them in the north. Said rebel leader Talibani: "We will starve to death if we don't receive food in one month."

Memoirs at the United Nations, the United States pushed for a swift vote on the resolution that would formally end the war while courtship keeps going, perhaps for years to come. According to Soviet ambassador Valeriy Voronov, the five permanent members of the Security Council—the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, France and China—had agreed on the resolution's main elements, although other details remained to be discussed. Approved by the whole 15-member council was widely expected this week, even though at least one of the nonpermanent members, Vietnam, which does not have veto power, demonstrated the death as "irrevocable."

Their protest attracted extremely strong demands. Vermaire, who described it as "the anthem of all revolutionaries," said that the Soviet Union as well as the Western allies wanted to make sure it was impossible for Iraq "to launch the same type of adventure again." The resolution calls for co-ordinated inspection of the destruction of Iraq's chemical, biological and ballistic missile weaponry. It demands that Iraq relinquish all its weapons-grade nuclear materials and that it guarantee that it will not make additional attempts to acquire or develop nuclear arms. It also prohibits the importing of any kind of military material without the Security Council's approval.

Finally, the resolution requires Baghdad to recognize the Iraq-Kuwait border and withdraw the use of "all necessary means"—clearly including force—to guarantee it. A US observer team will be deployed along that frontier in a buffer zone extending about five kilometers into Kuwait and 10 km into Iraq. As for reparations, an unspecified share of Iraq's oil revenues would be allotted to a fund to aid Kuwait and other countries that suffered losses as a result of Baghdad's aggression. Until those conditions are accepted and implemented the United States will not withdraw its

Some US diplomats described the 30-page document as unprecedented in the scope of its attempt to control the future behavior of a country defeated in war. Clearly, its provisions were aimed, at least in part, at keeping Hussein out of office. The doctor's fall which the United States was unable to achieve by direct military action, and was unwilling to accomplish by using the Iraqi rebels, might well be achieved by the United Nations itself.

JOHN BIERMAN with MELARY MACKENZIE  
as *Hindenburg* and *contemporaries* (adult)



Wounded English child in Zalkha, northern Iran: Washington decided not to intervene



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Bush (top): Schwarzkopf, the general, touched a sensitive political nerve



Worse. A US report had earlier described  
Eliquis as "one of the most important drugs in the world."

## BUILDING PAINS

THE REICHMANNS  
ARE STRUGGLING  
TO LURE TENANTS  
TO THEIR NEW  
\$8-BILLION LONDON  
OFFICE PROJECT

**I**n the middle of London's oldest neighborhood, workers are placing slabs and landing new levels. At the end of one tree-lined avenue, landscaped buildings stand in granite and marble encase a spacious square that will be crisscrossed with a swimming fountain. Staring over it all is a glass-and-steel-faced 30-story tower—at 460 feet, the tallest building in Britain. Although it is still filled with the dust and clutter of a construction site, Canary Wharf, the massive riverside development that is the most ambitious project undertaken so far by Toronto's billionaire Reichmanns family, has become a tangible reality. "There's no question of looking at it as a model and saying, 'How would that work?'" says Toronto-born Michael Dennis, the project's chief executive. "You can now go out and touch and feel it."

Unfortunately for the Reichmanns, Canary Wharf these days is attracting many more sightseers than tenants. Although its first few hundred occupants are scheduled to arrive as July, the 16-building development has so far leased only slightly more than half of the 4.2 million square feet of office space in its five major buildings. And with Britain gripped by recession and its commercial real estate market severely depressed, Canary Wharf has signed up to new tenants in less than three months. The recession has made the Reichmanns' challenge even tougher: persuading conservative British companies to abandon the City, London's traditional financial district, and move to an unproven development five kilometers to the east, in the Isle of Dogs part of the once-dropped Docklands area. At stake, says an analysis by *the Economist*, is the future of Canary Wharf Ltd., Dennis, a former housing commissioner for Toronto, is the Reichmanns' chief operator in Britain—and the man most responsible for ensuring the success



Canary Wharf: How long can they wait for the office market to catch up?

be secured. "The question is, how long can they keep out there and wait for the market to catch up?"

In his London headquarters, just a few hundred meters from Britain's Houses of Parliament, Dennis last week challenged the skeptics. As managing director of Olympia & York Canary Wharf Ltd., Dennis, a former housing commissioner for Toronto, is the Reichmanns' chief operator in Britain—and the man most responsible for ensuring the success

of their most expensive gamble: *Can*, Dennis maintained, is a "generalized disclaimer" with a dozen organizations. He added that he expects to sign up several major new tenants by the end of the summer. Real estate analysts speculate that the prospective tenants include several government agencies and at least one of Britain's largest banks. Until recently, Dennis said, high interest rates and global uncertainty created by the Gulf War had discouraged companies from making major spending decisions.

But now that interest rates are coming down and the Persian Gulf War is over, he added. "Things are going to turn very soon." Despite Dennis's optimism, the odds against an early success for Canary Wharf have clearly lengthened. Even before the market for office space in London slumped more than a year ago, the project was a high-risk undertaking. When they took over Canary Wharf from its original developers in 1987, the Reichmanns talked about creating a third office district in London to rival the historic City and the West End. The

priority to the European Community.

But a boom in office construction throughout London, combined with the current recession, has made the task of luring major companies to Canary Wharf much tougher. Office rental rates in central London have dropped by as much as 20 per cent in the past 18 months, to an average of about \$110 a square foot, and some analysts predict that vacancy rates will reach 20 per cent by next fall. Canary Wharf's rates vary between \$34 and \$66 a square foot, but the decline in office rents elsewhere has cut the savings that companies could realize by moving east. And in the Docklands area itself, rents near Canary Wharf have plummeted to as low as \$20 a square foot. Dedrick Roper Mott, managing director of the Docklands office of Chatterton, a major London real estate firm, "The market is atrocious—the odds are stacked against Canary Wharf."

The slump in London's property market comes at a particularly bad time for the Reichmanns. Most of their other major real estate holdings are in New York City and Toronto, where commercial real estate markets also have deteriorated over the past year because of the recession. Vacancy rates in both cities are now approaching 20 per cent, and tenants moving their leases are demanding concessions. "I've received up to that less than 10 per cent of the space in their buildings in the two cities is vacant. But in January, the New York-based real estate agency Standard & Poor's Corp. downgraded to A from as the credit rating on \$638.5 million worth of bonds that O&Y issued in 1986 to finance its purchase of a Manhattan office complex. "The Reichmanns are no different from any other landlords," says Harry Reiss, a real estate analyst with the Toronto-based investment dealer McLennan Milner Ltd. "They're feeling the influence of the recession and like everyone else."

Despite the downturn at Canary Wharf, Paul Reichmann, one of three brothers who control the family's business empire, has repeatedly downplayed negativity that O&Y lacks the financial muscle to fund the development. As a private company, O&Y is under no obligation to disclose its financial position. But some analysts say that the family controls more than \$25 billion in assets, which include majority stakes in Atlanta-Fulton County Stadium and Gulf Canada Resources Ltd. of Calgary. At recent meetings, the Reichmanns have disposed of several other buildings, although Paul Reichmann insists that there is no connection between those sales and Canary Wharf. In March, 1991, they agreed to sell Toronto-based investment firm GasCo to BNP Paribas for \$1 billion. In February, they picked up another \$600 million by selling their 9.6 per cent stake in Allied Lyons Ltd., a giant British food-and-beverage conglomerate. As well, O&Y has been trying to sell a 20 per cent stake in its U.S. real estate portfolio since early last year, when that private estimate could fetch more than \$600 million.

Confronted by the property downturn in London, critics claim that O&Y has been forced to make radical concessions to lure tenants

## Business Notes

## A GRIM OUTLOOK

The Canadian economy shrunk by 0.5 per cent in January, the largest monthly decline since the recession began last April. The latest drop in gross domestic product "drives a stake through the heart of the idea that the worst of the recession is past," said Philip Cross, Statistics Canada's chief of current analysis. One of the hardest-hit areas was retail trade, which fell 5.3 per cent last December. According to the federal agency, the Jan. 2 contribution of the services sector, off large increases since 1989, was also slowing, prompting retailers to trim their payrolls.

## PAP FOR VIEW

Some television viewers in Ontario, Quebec and the Atlantic provinces will now be able to pay, on a pay-per-view basis, to watch movies, sporting events and concerts. Viewers' Choice Canada, a joint venture among three cable TV companies, plans to introduce the service this fall on its main system, which includes 172,000 homes. Edmonton-based Alliance Pay Television Ltd. currently offers a pay-per-view service to about 20,000 Saskatchewan residents.

## LATIN FREE TRADE

The presidents of Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay signed an agreement in principle to eliminate trade among their countries by 1994. Trade officials will now begin detailed negotiations to establish a free trade area linking their 100 million people, whose cross-border trade totals about \$4.4 billion a year.

## WIN BLAMES POSITIONS

Struggling to cope with the recession and direct competition in the computer industry, giant International Business Machines Corp. of Armonk, N.Y., announced that it will cut its worldwide workforce of 372,000 by 14,000 people this year. The company said that it will achieve the reductions through attrition and by offering early retirement and severance payments. IBM Canada Ltd. of Markham, Ont., said it expects to lose 100 of its 12,743 employees.

## NO SMALL POTATOES

Federal Agriculture Minister Donald Manwaring promised \$7.9 million in compensation to P.E.I. and New Brunswick potato farmers for losses resulting from a U.S. ban on imports of their seed potatoes. Almost three-quarters of P.E.I.'s crop of seed potatoes, which are used to grow new potato plants, has been infected by a virus that is harmful to humans but kills tubers plants.

to Canary Wharf. Two of the project's largest tenants—Credit Suisse First Boston and Morgan Stanley International—were partners in the original project and were already committed to renting substantial space. Companies that agreed to move to Canary Wharf last year, raising the occupancy level of the project's first phase to 84 per cent, include American Express Inc., Texaco Ltd and the Daily Telegraph newspaper, controlled by Canadian financier Conrad Black. While all officials decline to discuss their rental arrangements, real estate experts maintain that prospective tenants are being granted rent-free periods, custom office layouts and other incentives. But Paul Richardson says that no tenants have been offered "massive rent-free periods."

CRF's critics point out that Canary Wharf needs a major transit access to boost its credibility. But Slemmon says that it is crucial for foreign companies to be the first to test a new area. "In any city, the locals tend to be less adventurous, probably because they are more firmly tied to the perceived right location," he adds. Drawing on his experience in Toronto in the late 1970s, Dennis recalled that the city's major north-south artery was actually a great divide. "For 25 years," he said, "no one would ever set up a business east of Yonge Street. Why? Psychology."

The greatest handicap to overcoming that perception is the difficulty in getting to and from Canary Wharf. The project sits outside the northern edge of the Isle of Dogs, a wide peninsula bordered on three sides by the long, low River Thames. Before the project began, the area was almost entirely cut off from the rest of the city. There was no rail service and a taxi ride along the only road to Canary Wharf took at least 30 minutes from central London but a ride by light commuter railway between the Docklands and the rest of London now takes only 11 minutes. A commuter airport is a 20-minute drive away, and there is also limited service by boat. On July 1, an extension of London's Underground system will open, linking the development to the city. Improved road links are also under way. In total, one is considering \$1 billion to a \$4-billion program of transportation improvements, including \$800 million for the railway extension.

Another less far potential obstacle is the high quality of the project. Much of London's office stock is outdated, lacking central air conditioning and proper facilities to house wiring for large computer systems. Canary Wharf, in contrast, is being developed as an integrated neighborhood, including carefully landscaped public spaces, 250 shops and a 400-room hotel. And in contrast to the other Docklands developments surrounding it, the project confers a commitment to high-quality construction—down to the black granite lintels and the 906 mature trees brought in from Germany to green the area.



London's financial district: Paul Richardson (below) gazing on the City's future

an instant "lived-in" look. "In the long run, it must be a success," says Robert Cohen, a partner in the London real-estate broker James Lang Wootton. "The quality of the product is second to none."

CRF has also distinguished itself from other

Docklands developers in its attitude towards the community. As part of its drive to revitalize the area, the Thatcher government declared most of the Docklands an "enterprise zone," exempting it from property taxes and placing it under the control of a single planning authority. But until 1983, when the Richardson assumed control of Canary Wharf, the north of the traditional Isle of Dogs residents—typically, former river workers and dockhands—had been neglected by almost all developers. The area's population of 14,000 suffered from high unemployment and crowded the young, well-educated professionals who moved into the area in the early 1980s and began buying and renovating overripe apartments.

CRF, however, managed to calm discontent, partly by enrolling a job-training program that allowed about 200 local people to acquire construction skills and get jobs at Canary Wharf. The company also set up a \$5-million trust fund to help educate local residents. Says Ted Johns, a former dockworker and a veteran leader of the Isle of Dogs community association: "The Richardsons are a long, long distance ahead of other developers."

In the longer run, however, some analysts question the wisdom of the gamble on London's economic future. But at its office last week, CRF's Dennis countered that London is still the financial hub of Europe, despite the real-estate of Paris, Frankfurt and Berlin. "I'd rather be in London," he said. "And for both the Japanese and the Americans, England is the preferred place to do business in Europe." The second tier of that judgment may well advance the cause of one of Canada's most comfortable business empires.

ANDREW PHILLIPS in London

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## The free trade partners look to Chile

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

While the free trade negotiations with Mexico will get a boost from President Carlos Salinas de Gortari's North American tour this month, Washington has already received preliminary probes from its next intended free trade partner: the Republic of Chile.

"Chile is definitely next on the American list, and they've placed it as a very special category," it was told last week by Prof. Ronald Wessman, one of Canada's leading experts on free trade. "The Chileans feel politically closer to the United States than any of the other Latin American countries. They are not only nice, but there is a huge gap between their possible membership in a free trade area and well-known candidates in Colombia, Venezuela and, essentially, Brazil."

Nonetheless, an economics professor at the University of Western Ontario in London, has just returned from a conference at the Institute of the Americas, a high-level think tank that operates out of La Jolla in southern California, where the Chilean candidacy was actually discussed among high-level government officials. While there is no timetable for including Chile, the idea of expanding the North American common market somewhat has always been the United States' intention.

Last summer, at a White House reception for Latin American diplomats, George Bush declared, "We look forward to the day when all countries of the Americas are equal partners in a free trade area, stretching from Anchorage to Tierra del Fuego." He named Mexico as his first target (and, on a later tour of South America, emphasized his commitment to a hemisphere free trade area). Significantly, the state department held his visit to Chile as the premier's most important step. One accompanying American diplomat, referring to the indicated relations being envisaged the continent, told *The New York Times*, "We want to give those guys a shot on the arm," while another said Bush is the first U.S. president to "look south of Panama" since Richard Nixon.

*"We look forward to the day when all countries of the Americas are equal partners in a free trade zone"*

—George Bush

"It is like the union that Latin America is too important to let it be poisoned. You can't walk away from it."

The American initiative envisages a free trade area from the North Pole to Cape Horn, with specific provisions to renegotiate (which probably means forgive) the \$14-billion debt currently owed by the region's governments to Washington. The Bush administration has already helped sponsor a day-long summit involving Ecuador, Colombia, Bolivia and Peru. *And* has proposed a new free-trade region for these and other countries from the Latin American De-veloped Band, gleefully to announce free trade agreements with Latin American countries that "do not have a commitment to economic reforms, including trade and investment liberalization." Chile is to be the first example of that initiative, probably starting out with a five-year agreement under which an eventual free trade pact will be signed. If Congress tries that "do-nothing" a commitment to economic reforms, it will also certainly be part of the package—and we will find ourselves in a free trade relationship with a country we know very little about.

After an average of a century missing down the Pacific coast of Latin America, starting from

Panama and Bolivia down past Argentina to Cape Horn, Chile was ruled by Spain until its independence in 1818. For much, it has been ruled mostly by oligarchs of rich landowners. Its politics a constant struggle between left- and right-wing forces. Even so, the Chilean military remained in their barracks, under civilian control for most of the country's history. That all changed after 1980, when Salvador Allende Gossens, the Marxist presidential candidate of the Unidad Popular movement in coalition of five left parties won the election to succeed Eduardo Frei Montalva, a Christian Democrat who had been president for the preceding six years. Only three years into his reformed socialist, Allende's ambitious centralization program stalled when he failed to get a congressional majority and faced a rapidly deteriorating economy. Spurring inflation and food shortages led to riots, and with the active help of the CIA, Allende became the victim of a military coup, led by Gen. Augusto Pinochet Ugo.

The military junta then ruled Chile for the next 17 years because one of the world's most aggressive dictators, Congress was dissolved, free political activity banned and censorship introduced. The military junta that ensued, the tactics and tales of innocent people blackened the country's reputation, as Pinochet went on a rampage. In 1973, the United Nations passed a resolution condemning the Chilean administration for its open violation of human rights, but all that happened was that Pinochet changed his country's status from being a "state of siege" to being a "state of emergency"—and carried on as before.

Pinochet held on to power until 1990, giving up his rule but on the government and eventually allowing free elections and political parties to emerge, although they were still officially outlawed. By 1988, even the Americans could no longer stomach Pinochet's brutality, so he was ousted by a U.S.-initiated election. Pinochet was ousted with gratitude and debt right by Chilean soldiers in Santiago. Subsequently, a government investigation into Pinochet's crimes against human rights included revelations that his troops played *despacito* music while torturing innocent victims who were later dropped into the sea from helicopters, their bodies cut open, so that they would sink.

In a head-fetted 1989 election, Pinochet's candidate lost to a professional Christian Democrat named Patricio Aylwin. Pinochet was expected to make the opposition parties but was compelled, under Pinochet's constitution, to retain the general as head of the country's armed forces until 1996. Whether or not Chile actually becomes our next free trade partner after Mexico, mutual commerce will certainly benefit. At the moment, our exports to 1990, primarily machinery, headed only \$100 million, while imports, mostly fruit, vegetables and copper, were worth \$180 million. Perhaps at least a bit of Chilean social life will rub off on us. They have 13 official holidays a year, while we have only one. It's just like joining the United States: the only benefit we'll get out of that deal will be celebrating that Thanksgiving long weekends

## PEOPLE

### TAKING CARE OF BUSINESS

Money sometimes averse told Thomson Hawley that he was too small to play professionally. But last week, the 36-year-old, six-foot, 185-lb. Calgary Flames right winger had seven revenge. In a 7-3 victory over the Vancouver Canucks, Hawley, 21, the smallest player in the NHL, not only scored three goals, his fifth last night of the year, but also scored his 100th point and 50th goal—only the St. Louis Blues' Brett Hull has more goals. Said Hawley, who grew up in Rossett, Mont.: "I just want about my business."

### Night creatures

Actress Patricia Coburn, who will star in the Canadian-filming production of *The Phantom of the Opera*, says that she took the role to expand her career. Added the 37-year-old baritone of Albuquerque, N.M.: "I really wanted to get away from the Broadway community, and I've never been to Canada." Coburn, who performed the role on New York City's Broadway for 18 months, plays Christine Daaé opposite Coburn's new boyfriend, the Phantom in the production, which began its 16-month Canadian tour in Ottawa on April 18 before going to Vancouver, Montreal and Calgary. For his part, Hawley and the role took the role to give attention to recognition. Declared Hawley, a 36-year-old Vancouver actor, about the musical's phenomenal success: "The public has already made Phantom what it is. They've already bought millions of dollars' worth of tickets." He added: "My father could come in and play the Phantom, you know what I mean?"



Coburn's efforts in ticket sales

### A DOWN-TO-EARTH MOTHER'S BOY

For actor Richard Grieco, humility begins at home. The heartthrob who then is the recently released movie *It's a Wonderful Life* says that "thirty thousand" of women write him weekly. The real is eventually delivered to his home town, Westwood, N.Y., where his mother, who helps with his business affairs, answers it. Declared Grieco, 35: "There is no way I could get away with going 'Hello, mom'—my mom would kill me. Besides, it's hard to think of yourself as a sex symbol when your mom answers your fan mail."



Grieco: "thirty thousand" of weekly fan letters



Madonna: kissed by Jeremy Irons

### GETTING HER MEN

Madonna, the woman who raised the tears "Boy, hey," began with a few boys' hearts at last week's *Ecstasy* night. The pop star's date for the gala event was Michael Jackson. Also attracting Madonna's personal attention was Jeremy Irons, who stopped to give her a kiss on his way up to receive his best actor award for *Reverend of Fortune*. But the 25-year-old singer really showed her seductive side in men when, during her performance of the Queen-winning song *Smoker or Not*, she added her own words, crooning seductively: "Talk to me, Gen. Schwarzenegger, tell me all about it."

### Fashionable diplomacy

High-fashion clothing designer Helmut Lang says that his designs "come from the subconscious—I'm not influenced by my travels." Still, the 46-year-old globe-trotting designer, who was in Montreal last week for the opening of a Museum of Fine Arts retrospective of his more than 40 years of work, acknowledged that world travel affects public attitudes towards fashion. Says Lang: "Travel and communication have made people in the Soviet Union and Brazil dress alike." As for Canadians, he added, "They have always dressed well."





Wormen at hearings last summer (above) and trial (below): 'a consuming desire'

## JUSTICE

# Fatal attraction

A teacher is accused of a brutal murder

When her trial begins, the defendant took a lively interest in the proceedings and sometimes engaged in conversations with reporters. But more recently, Carolyn Wormen has appeared to become withdrawn and she now has two full-length bodyguards to shield her from cameras. Wormen is on trial in connection with the murder of the wife of her former lover. And during her 13-week trial at White Plains, a prominent New York City suburb, the witnesses have paid like the script from the hit movie *Fatal Attraction* (in September, 1987, Gremlinville School in Edgemoor, N.Y., hired Wormen as a Grade 5 teacher). There, the next fellow teacher Paul Solomon and began to 18-month affair with him. Last week, Wormen, 37, was testifying herself against a charge that she had seduced Solomon's wife, Betty Jeanne, in the couple's apartment in nearby Greenvale,

N.Y., on Jan. 15, 1986, by shooting her next to him with a .25-caliber pistol. According to Solomon's testimony during the trial, Wormen met him on the evening of the episode at the Tropicana Lounge of a Holiday Inn in Yonkers, N.Y., for drinks, oysters and haircare—and later had sex with him in the backseat of her red 1988 Honda minivan.

The sensational trial of Wormen, which began on Jan. 14, has prompted commentaries in U.S. newspapers with the 1987 alone in which actress Ginn Coon portrayed a woman who becomes passionately obsessed with her married boyfriend and his family. Prosecutors in the Wormen case say



Wormen's wife

ly argued about the validity of the telephone records, with McCarty testifying that the defense document was a fake.

The Wormen affair is the most highly publicized trial in New York state's affluent Westchester County since proceedings more than a

decade ago against Jan Harris, a former headmistress at a private girls school. Harris is currently serving a 15-year sentence for the murder of Dr. Herman Tarnower, author of *The Complete Scarsdale Medical Diet* (1980), after he rejected Harris for a younger woman. The Wormen case is the second sensational murder trial in the United States this year involving an attractive young school employee

that while Solomon tried to take the affair from his wife, Wormen wanted a more aggressive relationship. There was say that, like the character in *Fatal Attraction*, the young teacher tried to ingratiate herself with the Solomon family, taking 10-year-old Karsten, the Solomon's daughter, on sleep trips and giving her diamond earrings. But above all, enticed district attorney James McCarty told the jury, "Wormen had a consuming desire to possess Paul Solomon by herself."

Testimony at the trial last week centered on the last page of evidence that could link Wormen to Betty Jeanne Solomon's death. McCarty introduced as evidence a document that he said was a copy of the telephone company's record of Wormen's bill for January, 1986, which he said showed that a 44-cent long-distance telephone call was made from Wormen's Upper East Side apartment in Manhattan to a New Jersey gun shop on the day of the killing.

The prosecution contends that Wormen later used it to the shop to buy ammunition. McCarty also produced two witnesses, including a critic at Wormen's school, who said that Wormen had bought a pistol at around the same time.

For his part, defense lawyer David Lewis insists that Wormen was framed by Vincent Parisi, a Manhattan-based private investigator who admitted to court that he was infatuated with Wormen when she lived in 1987 in trial's marital bedroom she was sharing. Parisi also testified that he illegally kept a .25-caliber, silencer-equipped Remington-Wealth submitted another document that he claimed was Wormen's original telephone bill for the same period, which showed no record of her alleged call to the gun shop. According to Lewis, that document showed that Wormen could not have telephoned the gun shop on the day of the murder. As for Wormen's bill, which showed a call to her mother at 644 p.m., which would have made it impossible for her to get to Greenvale by 7:15 p.m., the time at which Solomon was shot. Last week, the two lawyers dis-

puted again against Jan Harris, a former headmistress at a private girls school. Harris is currently serving a 15-year sentence for the murder of Dr. Herman Tarnower, author of *The Complete Scarsdale Medical Diet* (1980), after he rejected Harris for a younger woman. The Wormen case is the second sensational murder trial in the United States this year involving an attractive young school employee



Deputy chief medical examiner Dr. Lewis Rob shows location of wound on script

Last month, Pamela Smart, 33, a high-school teacher in Kansas, N.J., was sentenced to life in prison with no chance of parole after she was convicted of murdering a student of her husband last May by her teenage lover and two other youths. After the trial, jurors said last week that Smart was convicted largely on the strength of secretly taped conversations between her and a student.

The case against Wormen is largely circumstantial. Although police never found the murder weapon, McCarty claimed the bullets that killed Solomon could have been fired by the pistol that Parisi says he sold to Wormen. During last week's testimony over the allegedly forged telephone bill, Wormen vividly depicted the well-to-do daughter of multimillionaire Thomas Wormen, who owns the American Way Life Insurance Co., of Southfield, Mich. Wormen was able to post \$250,000 bail when Greenvale police arrested her in February of 1989. Her devoted parents have not appeared at the trial, although her father may appear later as a defense witness. Lewis said that his de-

pendent lay nearly \$3,000 because she said that she was afraid of burglars and of a woman who she said was harassing her family. Parisi said that he met Wormen in 1985, when she lived in her apartment in the apartment of the bartender who was slitting Parisi's wife's throat, and that he twice defaced Wormen's apartment to have sex with her. "She wanted me to come over," said Parisi. "She said, 'I'm in black, very large,' and I said, 'I'm very fat.'" Parisi testified that their professional relationship continued after the murder, when Wormen lived Parisi in August, 1986, to check the telephone number of a woman who was dating Solomon following his wife's murder.



Deputy chief medical examiner Dr. Lewis Rob shows location of wound on script

Paris after taking Solomon who he served home late in the night of his wife's murder. Lewis declared: "The reason... is because you know your wife was dead." As for Lewis, who said that Solomon had made a deal with the prosecution for full immunity in the case in return for testifying against Wormen.

Intricate in the case was highlighted by the testimony of Parisi, the chief prosecution witness. He testified that he sold Wormen the pistol



Solomon testifying at White Plains court: the period of passion

and advocated such techniques as rifling through people's garbage to find incriminating documents. Lewis also questioned an apartment bought by Parisi, called *How to Be Your Own Private Eye*. As well, he tried to show that Parisi often broke the law by illegally tapping telephones and manipulating himself.

When it began, the trial was expected to last eight to 13 weeks. But frequent postponements, including two broken by a fire that destroyed the 20-story White Plains courthouse. Wormen herself interrupted the trial in January when she began sobbing on the courtroom floor. A newspaper photographer took her picture. The next day, she was taken to hospital suffering from vomiting and a high temperature. The week, the defense was expected to begin its rebuttal of the prosecution's case by attempting to show that Wormen was a slave to a murder plot hatched by others, or that she was a victim of her own lust attraction for the dead woman's husband.



DAVID BRADY with JEFFREY TOLSON/IN at White Plains



## Children of the springtime

BY TRENT FRASER

A nonspecific event goes on, one might think of as that game further back and as much further as the recent baseball record called spring training? Training for what? Six weeks of pitch-and-catch is a warm climate in order to play more pitch-and-catch until October? I mean, how much preparation does it take to be ready to put a three-hour-a-day at a child's game through the soft evenings of summer?

In 1945, as every day known, the former Montreal outfielder Tim Lincecum engaged the Expos' management in a salary dispute and decided to show up at the team's spring-training headquarters in West Palm Beach, Florida, during April through May, and while the regular season began, continued night through April.

Really, on May 1 an agreement was reached, and the next day Lincecum, who had been a major-league pitcher since his debut day of 1938, came, jumped into his blue long-sleeved uniform with the red number 30 on the back and walked onto the natural grass of their stadium in New York against the Mets. He went to the plate six times and collected four hits and a walk. He stole a base. One of the best warm-up games ever played, with the bases full at the top of the 30th inning.

Perhaps because Tim had been himself then training around the outfield fields of Florida all spring, he had a pretty good answer—the best, in fact, at his 10th birthday in the Expos outfield. He told his major league in 1938, his 138th birthday average was three hits in the National League, in his 18 home runs, a personal best, and he scored 36 bases, fourth highest in the National League.

It can be argued that the Lincecum case is an isolated one, a fluke, but there is all sorts of evidence that spring training is a kind of backsliding of winter to follow. The top pitcher of 1969 was Bob Welch, an earnest, workaholic right-hander for the perennially struggling Oakland Athletics. At 33, Bob had learned all there was to know about pitching

*How much preparation does it take to be ready to put in three hours a day at a children's game through the soft evenings of summer?*

and piled up 27 wins for the A's last only six times and had an excellent season-average of 2.85. For all of this, which was rewarded with the Cy Young Award to the American League's top pitcher, a guy whose spring-training record was no more and three losses at 100, average, and a hilarious career-on average of 17.73.

There are other illustrations. An outfielder with a classic batting swing, Fred Lynn, had a wonderful spring with the San Diego Padres in Anaheim. He led all hitters in both major leagues with a .480 average. Still, when the regular National League season wound down

Lynn was batting half that—a dismal .246. Some players go the other way. The National League batting champion, Willie McGee, who struck .339 for the Cardinals, batted .189 in his spring evaluation. Then there is Roddy Henderson, who felt confused the spring that the A's management was reluctant to integrate him in his 19th season. Roddy shows the opinion of several other people that he is the best all-around player in baseball and a gaffe him that the weeks are growing overcrowded with guys suddenly making more money than he is. And so Roddy refused to show up for work in Anaheim at the beginning of March.

Well, so what? Last spring Roddy hit no homers, knocked in only one run and batted .207. Once the bell rang, he went to work as his coaches say, hammering 24 homers with a .315 average, driving pitchers crazy on the bases and earning the American League's most valuable player award. What a guy.

Meanwhile, over at West Palm Beach a year ago, the Expos had reason to suspect they owned some young stars in a pair of young outfielders, Delino DeShields and Renee Nelson. Every time the manager, Buck Rodgers, would his greying old head to peer out from the clubhouse dugout, it seemed either DeShields or Nelson was on base. In fact, only Fred Lynn in San Diego had a better springtime average, Nelson at .429 and DeShields a mere 13 per cent average points lower. When the reality of the long season set in, 23-year-old DeShields had a terrible year, settling in at second base and in the leadoff batting position, but Nelson faded into the sunset. DeShields wound up with 43 strikeouts in 594 at-bats, not carry the 494 of the spring, but nice numbers for a slippy infielder.

Spring records rarely lead close to a team's likely behavior. The Atlanta Braves have fared so poorly for the past decade that they might easily be referred to as the Toronto Maple Leaf of baseball. Last year, they had the worst record in the major leagues, 65 wins and 90 losses, yet during the decade of the 1980s they compiled the National League's best spring record (the second-best record among the 26 teams at the time belongs to the Cleveland Indians, perennial winners in the American League since the 1950s began).

Spring training is a really beautiful exercise for club owners. Paul Levine, the president of the Toronto Blue Jays, says the six weeks in Florida "cannot be more than a year-end low-dollar deficit," although this spring drawing 70,000 people to Toronto's SkyDome for two March games with the New York Mets, "we might even break even."

Still, owners are not about to shorten the pregame game because spring training is such a tempting appeal for the fans at the suburban North. For them, words and pictures from the sunny playing fields are as ready as spring's first robin, and newspapers and television stations endeavor to slide the first week's season of sun scenes from the batting cages. Who could resist doing to putting an accurate value on the seriousness of free baseball?

And, of course, the value of spring training for the players is open to scrutiny and certainly on weeks of it are used to enough. When ball players hardly used as a weekend home their mounds. Today's salaries provide incentive enough to induce them to stay in their year-round, while doing an on long ago when ball players spent the long cold winters chipping away at their heavy thighs (and, in John Carandine's view, "their appetites were in spring training doesn't prove much of anything for the long haul. The best thing to do is to forget about it, the outdoor some half-hour depression (there's not the first pitch).

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Parillaud: a sexy, scruffy, homicidal wulf attends a secret-agent charm school

## FILMS

# Pretty lethal woman

*A femme fatale brandishes a big gun*

LA FEMME NIKITA  
Directed by Luc Besson

**I**n the new French movie *La Femme Nikita*, the Pygmalion legend takes on a perverse twist: a sexy, scruffy, homicidal wulf goes to a secret-agent charm school and comes out as a hip-bodied, government-assisted, A-list office lady in France. Nikita outdoes the ability of French actresses to make preposterously stylish moves about attuned women. Their since Roger Vadim made sex symbols of Brigitte Bardot and Jane Fonda in the 1960s, French filmmakers have been playing with the boundary between sex and exploitation. Nikita is a thriller about a wild child of the streets who is turned into a general intelligence. In the guise of an action movie, it unfolds as a subtly veiled sexual fantasy about a seductive slave—a punk *Fanny Hill* with a license to kill.

The story opens with a bloody shootout as police intercept a gang that is robbing a pharmacy. Nikita (Anne Parillaud), a police desperado for a life, crouches in a corner. As a cop comforts her, she shoots him in cold blood. The movie's underline Nikita-to-death. But the police take her execution and offer her a new identity—if she agrees to be trained as a hit woman for the state. At first, she labors not at all her instructors like a vicious animal. But her ruthless supervisor, Bob (Eric Roberts), breaks her wild spirit and teaches her discipline. Meanwhile, Amanda, a make-over artist played

by veteran actress Jeanne Moreau, schools her as the ultimate gynox.

After years of misadventures, Nikita goes out onto the world as a professional killer. She falls in love with Marco (Jean-Pierre L  aud), a tough supermarket clerk who tries to keep her job a secret from him. But as she goes in to what Amanda calls "intimate espionage," she finds it increasingly difficult to carry out her assignments.

Nikita's sexual politics are outrageous. Director Luc Besson, 32, makes an amusing threat of getting gay men in his lesbian's delicate hands. Sometimes, however, the degradation gets all too literal: In one scene, she's in a black rain-dress. Nikita escapes a gang of killers by slithering down a rainwater garbage chute into a trash bin. Weeping, she walks home barefoot in the rain, her high heels in her hands, her stockings artistically soiled and unweaved web blood.

Despite the movie's cartoon-like action, it is hard not to be dazzled by Besson's technique. The action scenes are gripping. The director's visual flair makes Nikita the most stylish French thriller since *Am  * (1981). And Parillaud performs with startling intensity—even when Besson treats her less like an actress than a model being put through her paces. Both average and exotic, Nikita is the latest prototype in France's search for the ultimate femme fatale.

BRIAN B. JOHNSON

# Fascist follies

*A leading Spanish director revisits the civil war*

AS CARMELO  
Directed by Carlos Saura

**S**ixteen years after the death of dictator Francisco Franco, Spanish filmmakers are still dealing with the memory of fascism. Leading the new generation of directors, the 40-year-old Pedro Almod  var, 40 points away from the peak with a giddy sense of anarchy. In his last comedy *Women on the Verge of a Nervous Breakdown* (1988), he created a candy-colored world of erotic melodrama and surreal farce. But Saura's comic established director, 50-year-old Carlos Saura, belongs to a generation more rooted in realism. He was instrumental in the film *Widow* (1981) and *Carven* (1983), movies that explored the Basque tradition. Now, as *As Carmelu*, Saura revisits the wounds of the Spanish Civil War. It is a modest film, a poignant tragedy that never quite lives up to its tragic or comic potential. But it features memorable performances by Spanish actor Ant  n Pajares—met by co-star Carmen Maura, the longtime Almod  var collaborator who starred as a distraught lover in *Women on the Verge*.

*As Carmelu*'s set in 1936. While Franco's planes dove overhead, cabaret performers Carmela (Maura) and Pajares (Pajares) entertain Republican troops in a bomb-battered village with their music sessions. Guatr  s (Gabriel Gudi  ) Later that night, on the way to the Republican city of Valencia, they are arrested by Fascist troops. They expect to be shot, but instead are taken to a prison (Maura & Saura) conspires them to present a radio spectacle of Fascist propaganda for the troops—and for some Polish prisoners from the International Brigade who are awaiting execution. Pajares is harshly interrogated with the treatment. Carmela, however, is released to conspire with her estranged lover.

*As Pajares*, the ad-eyed hollowness, Pajares delivers a beautifully Clapton-like performance—recognized with the best actor award at the Montreal World Film Festival in the fall. And Maura, named best actress at last year's *Film Festival* (Europe's *Oscar*) for the movie, shows an affecting vulnerability. But the movie is not as strong as its stars. The story's tragic conclusion seems anticlimactic. And *As Carmelu* fails to transcend the dilemma of artistic complicity that it so gracefully portrays.

B. D. A.

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STYLE

# Rebel angel

Elizabeth Smart found beauty amid squalor

BY HEARTY ELIZABETH  
SMART, A LIFE  
By Rosemary Sullivan  
(Penguin, 416 pages \$29.95)

On the dust jacket of *By Heart*, Rosemary Sullivan's superb new biography of Elizabeth Smart, two photographs run up the exhausted face of the Canadian writer with heart-breaking conviction. In the picture on the front, a young blonde with the serious mouth and sculpted cheekbones of a *Vogue* model eyes the camera with penetrating candor. On the back cover, the same woman, now a middle-aged older, is scarcely recognizable. The grey hair is unkempt, the eyes puffed, swollen fingers hold a cigarette. But there is a certain poignancy in the flesh flower pinned to the lapel—and the same unending detachment that the had as a young woman. Elizabeth Smart lived hard, and it showed. She also wrote hard, with award results. But by the time she died in 1986 at 73, her 1985 novel of obsessive love, *By Heart*, was widely recognized as a masterpiece.

There was a driving hunger in Elizabeth Smart that was far beyond the usual. But Sullivan, a poet and University of Toronto professor, is a biographer with an energy and perspicacity that catch her subject's. *By Heart* has the momentum of a well-paced novel, but also the discursive intelligence to pick out the small details in life that Smart herself frequently found baffling. In that sense, *By Heart* is like Smart from much of the chaos and tragedy that shadowed her. In the new of Sullivan—who knew the writer personally in her later years—Smart's character had a beauty and sensuality every bit as striking as her writing.

According to the biography, Smart's earliest lover was her mother. Smart was born in Ottawa in 1913, the second child of socialite Louise Smart and her lawyer husband, Russell. She lost her four children with incestuous manipulation and bipolarity. Elizabeth was the central child, the one who was preferred to the others who would "just annoy and annoy with" Smart grew up deeply split between the surface role of the high-society debutante and as more self-watching feelings of abandonment and rebellion.



Sullivan redeeming her subject from chaos

After her 1931 graduation from the Methodist Hall girls' school in Cobourg, Ont., Smart traveled to England—a society where she eventually came to live permanently, far from her mother's Canada and the postcolonial stiffness of Canada. Over the next few years, she struggled to write, traveled widely and had sexual affairs—including a lesbian relationship with French-born poet Alet Pfaels. But in one year up to her learning stage of the romantic ideal world, in 1937, she discovered George Barker's poetry and Leslie Landon. She started looking for the young literary loner at parties, but it took her three years to catch up with him—and his wife, Jessica. By then, Smart had already written part of *By Heart*, Central Station. In the white heat of their affair, she completed the book, eventually publishing it in 1945 to enthusiastic reviews.

Barker was the great love of Smart's life, even though he never settled down with her

She did contribute to the support of their four children, always claiming that she had a rich family to help her. But Smart's alienation from Ottawa was real, and for years she struggled with poverty. Her youngest child, Rose, initially slept in a coal bunker for want of a cradle. Toward the children's private school, Smart worked long hours as an editor and contributor for *London Magazine*. For relaxation, she fell into the habit of hard drinking with her artistic friends. But the child-caring and the drinking put in the way of her vocation, and she did not produce her second novel, the tepidly received *The Assumption of the Begums and Kismet*, until she was 64.

Smart never fulfilled all her potential as a writer, but her language for life gave her a highly accomplished transcendence and energy. It is impossible to read Sullivan's biography without, in some sense, falling in love with Smart—her obsessive gardening, her courage, and her tireless care of her children, particularly Rose, who died in 1982 after a long history of drug addiction. She also had an incredible independence of mind. During a discussion of anti-shortcomings to lovers, she once told a gathering of feminists: "Well, you know, girls, if you make too much noise, it won't rise."

*By Heart* ends with a simple description of Smart's sudden death from a heart attack. And it is a measure of the book's power that the event strikes with the force of a personal loss. Her life was troubled to the end, but it was rich, in its way, a triumph.

JOHN REMROSE

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  - 6 *Life After Death, Hayler*
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Compiled by Brian Bellman

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